

Azeb Amha

The Maale Language



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Research School of Asian,
African, and Amerindian Studies
Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands
2001

CNWS PUBLICATIONS
VOL. 99

CNWS PUBLICATIONS is a series produced by the Research School CNWS, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Editorial board: M. Brienem; M. Forrer; F. Hüskem; K. Jongeling; H. Maier; P. Silva; B. Walraven

All correspondence should be addressed to: Dr. W.J. Vogelsang, CNWS Publications, c/o Research School CNWS, Leiden University, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands.

Azeb Amha

The Maale language. Leiden, Research School CNWS, Universiteit Leiden. - (CNWS Publications, Vol. 99)

ISBN: 90-5789-056-9

Subject headings: Maale; Africa; Ethiopia; linguistics;

Printing: Ridderprint, Ridderkerk

Front cover design: Nelleke Oosten. The cover shows a headrest from Maale.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the preparation of this book, I incurred two major debts, which I hereby acknowledge with deep gratitude. The first one is to my Maale friends who helped me learn their language. I am specially indebted to *Ato* Tilahun Bonke and his wife *W/o* Shawo Gonka, *Ato* Metaferia Mino and his family, *Ato* Mereja Melka and his wife Zelealem, *Ato* Bantile, Meseret Metaferia, Oydisha Tushkulo, Israel Melka, Dangachew Dessie, Bezabish and Beletech Tilahun for their assistance, kindness and friendship.

The second is to my thesis supervisor, Professor Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, whose inspiring scientific outlook, efficient guidance, and encouragement were crucial for the completion of this study. He read every draft with interest and was ever ready to offer his very stimulating suggestions, while letting me find out my mistakes and develop my own understandings and interpretations of the language; I am very grateful to Gerrit for this and for his kindness and understanding.

I am grateful to Professor Thilo C. Schadeberg, my promoter, for his valuable comments and for his technical help. Dr. Felix Ameka and Professor Richard J. Hayward read the manuscript and offered important suggestions for which I am deeply grateful.

Many thanks to Professor Don Donham for his support and for giving me his wordlists of Maale. I am grateful also to Ms. Monica Feinen, the cartographer in the Africanistics Department in the University of Cologne for preparing the maps in this book.

Without the logistic support of several people working in Maale and Jinka area my fieldwork would have been very difficult. Thanks to Yalew and Tigist Fekede, Rahel Seifu, *Ato* Zewde and his wife Gemanesh, Yaynwaga Melese, Jemaw Aseffa and Alemu Taddese, for their kindness and support. Many thanks to Janet and Kobus van Aswegen who made my second fieldwork period more efficient and enjoyable by offering me their house in Koibe. In Jinka, my transit area to and from Maale, several people helped me. Particular thanks go to Aster Alemayehu, who became a faithful friend since 1993, when I first visited the area and to her parents *Ato* Alemayehu and *W/o* Behailuwa for their hospitality. I am grateful to Dange Gebre, Fikremarkos Desta and Leggese Lemma for helping me solve transport and other practical problems.

During my fieldwork period in Addis Ababa I benefited a lot from discussions with my Ethiopian teachers, colleagues and friends: *Ato* Takkele Taddese, Professor Baye Yimam, and Dr. Abebe Gebre-Tsadik, *Ato* Aklilu Yilma, *Ato* Daniel Abera, *W/Z* Hirut Woldemariam, *Ato* Moges Yigezu, *W/Z* Mulumebet Zenebe and Dr. Zelealem Liyew. My thanks go to my friends and fellow Ph.D. candidates in the Department of African Linguistics of Leiden University: Maud Devos, Stefan Elders, James Essegbey, Peter

Kraal, Pita van Kan, Christian Rapold and Graziano Savà for their support and discussions. Special thanks to my colleague Maggie Konter-Katani for her advice, friendship and for the good and fruitful times we had together. My gratitude to Anne-Marie Heijnders, the former secretary of the Department of African linguistics, for her unreserved effort to solve practical problems much beyond the call of duty. My thanks also go to the staff of the CNWS, particularly to Ilona Beumer-Grill and Willem Vogelsang who have been very helpful in the past years. Thanks to my friend Deborah Lucassen for her moral support and to Marco Last for his encouragement and for helping with the computer in the initial phase of the research.

My utmost thanks and gratitude to my husband Jan Abbink for his encouragement and sacrifices over the years, for patiently listening to my excitements as well as my complaints and above all for his love and devotion; and to our lovely son Michaël, also for his often used parting words in the morning: "Ga maar lekker werken, mamma!". My love and appreciation also to my mother *W/o* Nigatwa Adaye, to my sisters, especially to Bisrat Amha who took care of Michaël during my first fieldwork, and to my brothers for their help and understanding. My thanks also go to the kind Dien and Henk Abbink and to Raabi and Ruud Ramjiawan for their unreserved support.

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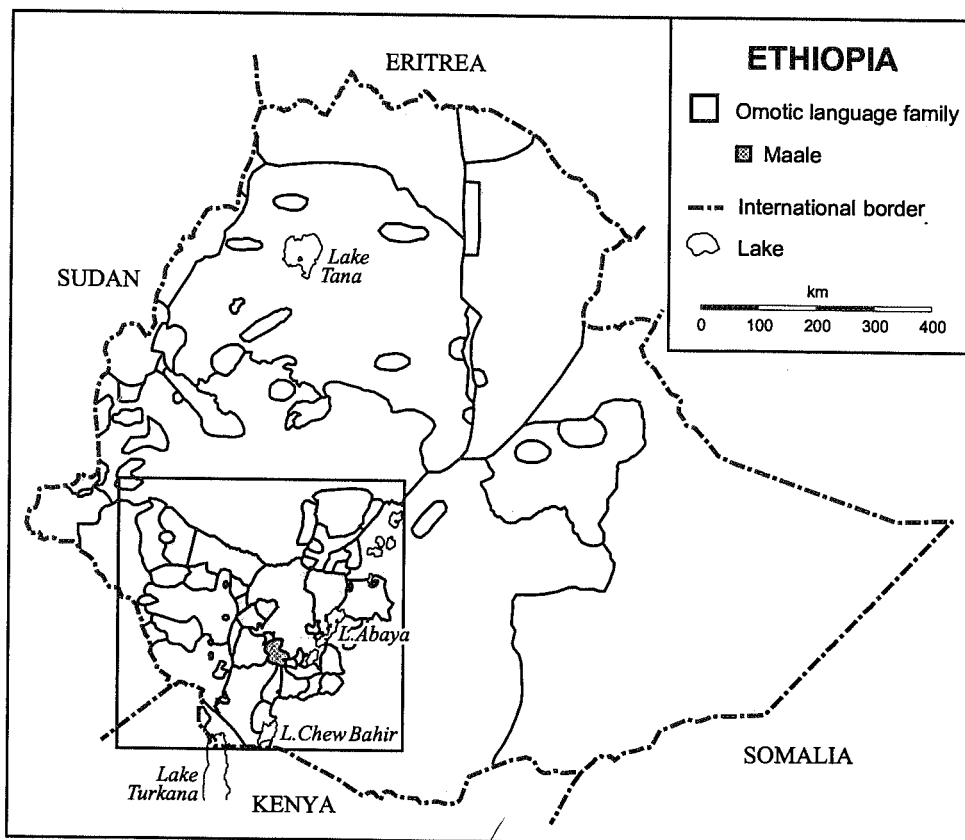
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

ABS	absolute
ABL	ablative
A:DCL	affirmative declarative
AGR	agreement
AUG	augmentative
CAUS	causative
CND	conditional
CNV ₁	converb type 1
CNV ₂	converb type 2
CNV ₃	converb type 3
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
DF	definite
DGRE	degree
DIM	diminutive
DIRCT	directional
DS	different subject
DSJ	disjunctive
DUB	dubitative
DUB:Q	dubitative question
EMPH	emphatic
E:NEG	emphatic negative
F	feminine
F:IPF	future imperfective
GEN	genitive
GEN:NMZ ₁	genitive nominalizer 1
GEN:NMZ ₂	genitive nominalizer 2
IDEO	ideophone
IDF	indefinite
IMP	imperative
INCL ₁	inclusive type 1
INCL ₂	inclusive type 2
INDT	indeterminacy marker
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INT	intensive
INTJ	interjection

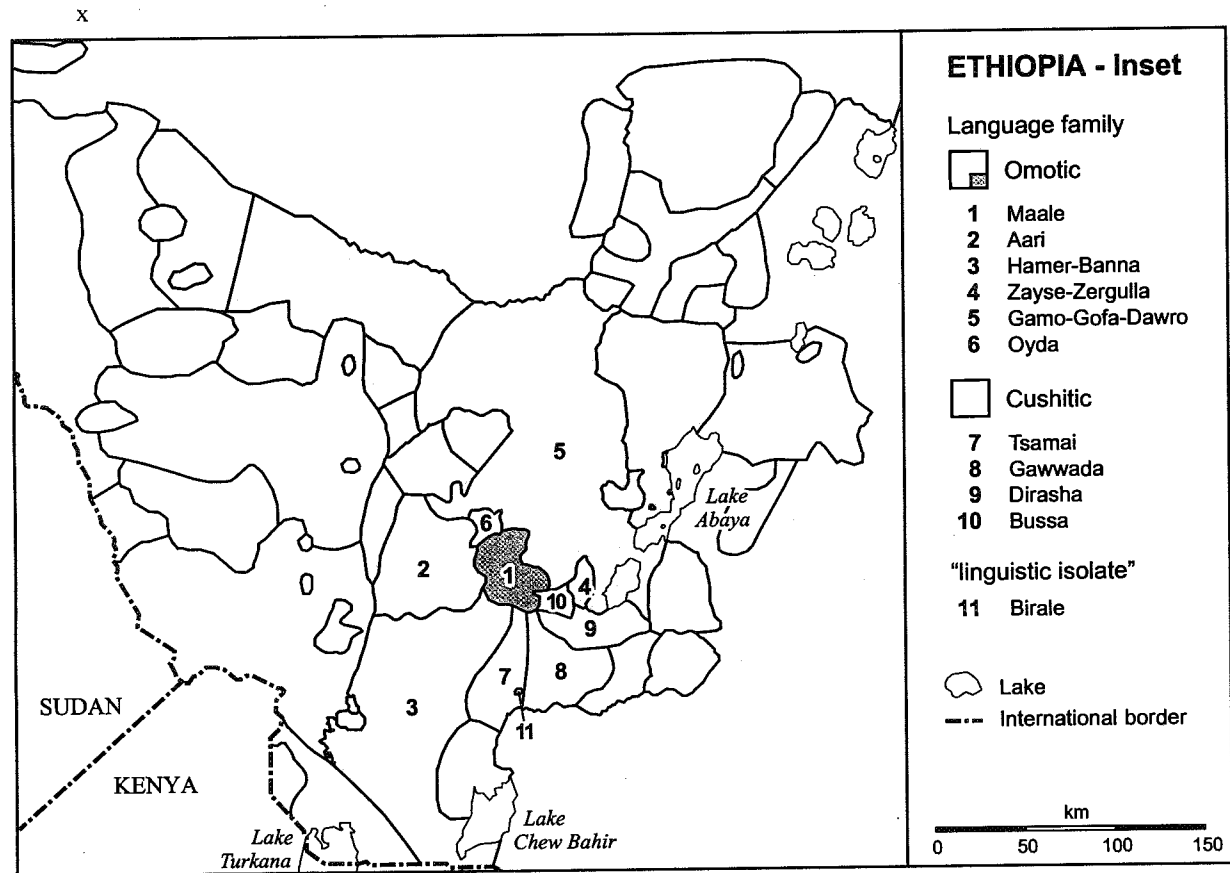
IPF	imperfective aspect
IPF:NEG	imperfective negative
IPF:REL	imperfective relative clause
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MIR	mirative
N:DCL	negative declarative
NOM	nominative
NMZ	nominalizer
NRRC	non-restrictive relative clause
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal numeral
PAS	passive
PF	perfective aspect
PF:NEG	perfective negative
PF:REL	perfective relative clause
PERM:Q	permissive question
PL	plural
POL	polite form
PRVN	preventive
PURP	purposive
Q	question form (interrogative marker)
REAS	reason clause
RECP	reciprocal
RDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL:PF	perfective relative clause
REL:IPF	imperfective relative clause
RHT:Q	rhetorical question
S:MODF	sentential modifier
TEMP ₁	temporal type one
TEMP ₂	temporal type two
TEMP ₃	temporal type three
TEMP ₄	temporal type four
VBZ	verbalizer
VER	veridical
VOC:F	vocative feminine
VOC:M	vocative masculine
1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular

2PL	second person plural
3FS	third person feminine singular
3MS	third person masculine singular
3PL	third person plural
3LOG	third person logophoric pronoun
3REST	third person restrictive pronoun
'	high tone
*	ungrammatical form; a proto form
:	more than one morpheme is involved; boundary not marked
—	words which together form the gloss of a single morpheme

MAPS



Map 1 Omotic Languages in Southwest Ethiopia



Map 2 Maale and its Neighbouring Languages

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This work is a grammar of Maale, a North Omotic language in Southern Ethiopia so far not intensively studied. In this chapter we introduce the people and the area and make some remarks on the background of the research project that led to this study.

1.1 The people

The Maale people number about 46,000¹. They are found in what is now known as the Southern Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, more specifically in the Bako-Gazer *woreda* (district) of the South-Omo Administrative Zone. The people use the self-name **maale** (singular) or **maalló** (plural) to refer to themselves, and **maalló múcci** (cf. **múcci** 'language') to refer to their language. The Maale are predominantly an agro-pastoralist group; their main agricultural products are maize, sorghum, t'eff (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), coffee, and some root crops such as yam and sweet potato. Besides farming, most of the Maale people keep large herds of cattle used for dairy products and, more importantly, as a store of wealth.

The Maale area is at an altitude ranging from about 1000 m. to about 2800 m. It shows a variety of landscapes and micro-climates according to the altitude. The highland areas are mainly used for cultivation; the relatively inaccessible, semi-arid lower plains are where the cattle herds are kept. The Maale share boundaries with the Gofa people in the north and north-east, the Aari to their west, and the Banna and Tsamay to their south (See Map 1).

Although research on their language has so far remained minimal, the Maale are well-known through a series of excellent books and articles on their political and social history by the American anthropologist D. L. Donham (e.g., 1986, 1992, 1993, 1994, and 1999).

From the above-mentioned publications and from their oral history it is clear that the Maale society is historically interdependent with the other Omotic-speaking groups in southern Ethiopia, and shares several social and cultural characteristics with them. The Maale had important economic and social links with these

¹ This figure, (46,391 Maale people) is taken from the 1994 National Census of Ethiopia, published in 1996 (see CSA 1996: 119)

surrounding and related peoples (as is evident from their myths and from migration histories of certain clans). Furthermore, the Maale were involved, from an early date, in the long-distance trade networks, extending from the South towards Northern Ethiopia and the Red Sea coast (cf. Donham 1994). Still, Maale was, until the late 19th century, a more or less independent political formation with a 'divine king' (known as **kati**) at its religious and political centre. The king was the embodiment of order, well-being and fertility of the people (see Donham 1994: 22-24 for a description of the cultural aspects of Maale kingship).

The Maale are internally divided into over thirty different clans. These include: **karnayi**; **banati**, **ʔaare**, **záge ʔaabánni**, **kúrtúmmi**, **kázó**, **gónti**, **kallatti**, **ʔadare**, **ziḡatti**, **k'ook'i**, **gánázze**, **ʔórássi**, **bóróddi**, **júme**, **golló maalle**, **wúrti**, **túrgáti**, **gántsa**, **káwro**, **mélézzi**, **bereddi**, **wolaitta maalle**, **ʔáútti**, **diiddi** and **béri**. Each clan branches into various lineages. For example, **karnayi**, the only clan from which a king was nominated, consists of the **kaarati**, **d'ile**, **moló330** and **gó33i** lineages. Similarly, the **banati** clan is subdivided into: **saile ʔindó**, **ʔabbó banati**, **ʔangillo** and **ʔaggé ʔindó**. Marriage among members of the different lineages of a clan is taboo.

Maale was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in 1894, after submitting without a fight to the troops of Emperor Menilik II. However, the Maale king was allowed to remain a government-recognized indigenous leader, but the kingship was gradually undermined by the growing role of additional administrators sent from the central government, and by Maale internal rivalry and social change. The period of the Ethiopian revolution, 1974-1991, appeared to have brought the final demise of the traditional Maale kingship. However, after the regime change of 1991, the kingship made a remarkable resurgence when the "traditionalist" Maale were able to ritually re-bury the remains of the last **kati** (king) and reinstate his son as a successor; although the latter's role in the present political system is only nominal. (The dramatic story of 20th century Maale kingship is told in detail in Donham's recent 1999 book.)

The Maale at present are mainly adherents of two religions, the traditional Maale religion and Christianity (notably the Protestant-Evangelicalism), which was introduced in the area in the 1960s. In the past few years more and more people have joined the latter religion, leaving the traditional belief system which is focused on 'ancestor worship' and elaborate rituals, e.g., for the ceremonial evocation of rain, blessing of the first-born or of first crops. The impact of conversion on Maale genres of oral literary expression (parables, recitals, etc.) and on traditional music seems to be great.

1.2 The language

The Maale language is alive and well. It is presently not threatened by 'language shift' or 'language death'. Most of its 46,000 speakers are monolingual. Maale is used for all social, religious and local administrative purposes. There are plans to use the language as a medium of education as well.

1.2.1 *Previous studies on the language*

As a brief survey of previous research on this language will show, Maale is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia. The first and also the main source of information on Maale so far has been an extensive word list and a brief grammatical sketch written by Professor Donald Donham, who has carried out historical and ethnographic research among the Maale since 1974. This unpublished material was widely circulated among linguists studying Omotic and Cushitic languages, e.g. by Fleming (1976), Bender (1976), Zaborski (1984) and Hayward (1987). In 1976, the British linguist Professor Richard Hayward collected data on Maale from an informant he met briefly (only two mornings) in Gidole in Southern Ethiopia, where he was conducting research on Dirayta, a Cushitic language. These data were used for comparative purposes (cf. Hayward 1987, 1990: xiv). The third source of information on Maale is an unpublished BA thesis in linguistics at Addis Ababa University, entitled "The Phonology of Maale", written by Hirut Mengiste (1988). Hirut did her research with informants in Addis Ababa. However, it seems that these informants were not native speakers of Maale, since a number of lexical and grammatical forms reported in her work are not recognized by informants interviewed by the present author; some are recognized as forms found in Gofa. Finally, in 1994 members of the research group known as Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (SLLE), collected some sociolinguistic information on Maale. The results of this survey, containing information on language use and vitality and a word list of 320 entries, were published in 1995 in the *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Report* no. 24 (Siebert 1995). Considering, among others, the inaccessibility of the Maale area at the time, these were useful materials; however, they are far from being full reports on the grammar of the language. It is believed that the present study will fill the gap.

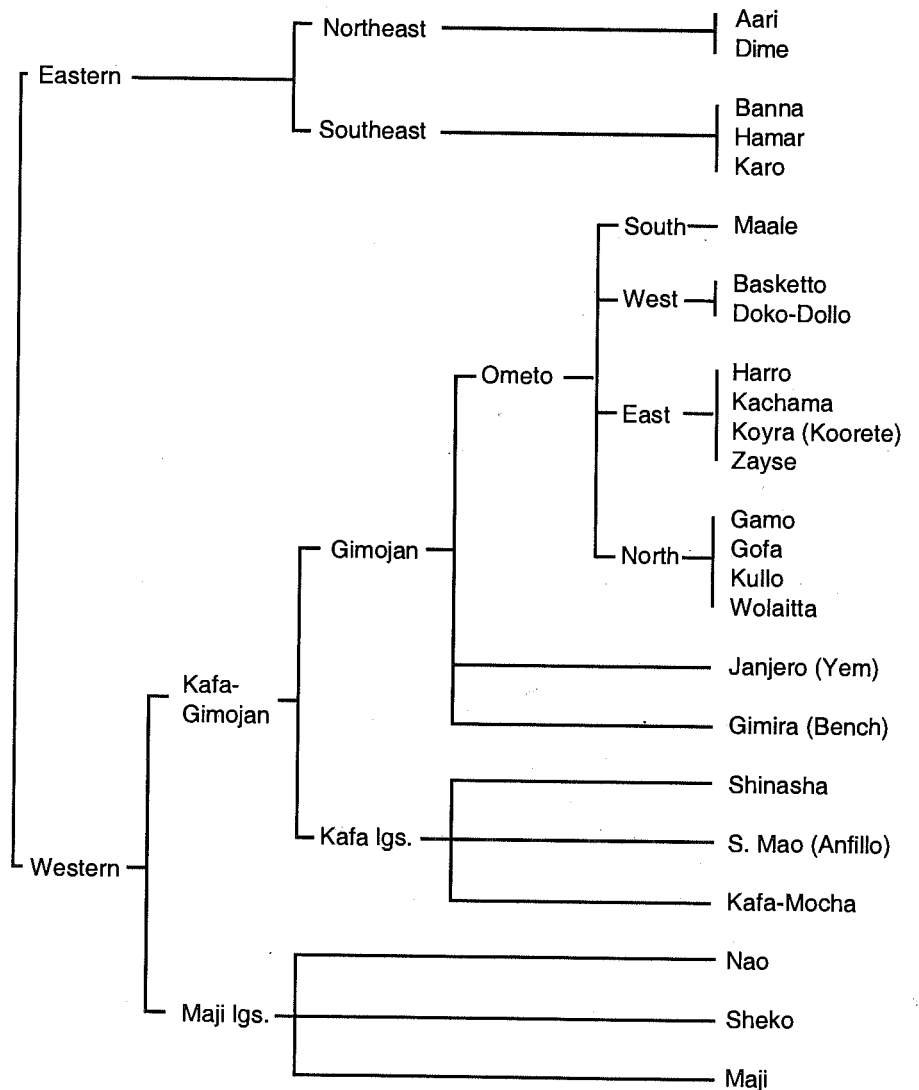
1.2.2 *Classification*

There are two basic points of view on the classification of Omotic in general. In his seminal classification of the languages of Africa, Greenberg (1963) subsumed the languages today known as Omotic under the Cushitic family of the Afroasiatic superfamily, labelling it 'West Cushitic.' Some scholars still recognize these languages as branches of Cushitic (e.g., Lamberti 1991). In the late 1960s, the American linguist Harold Fleming proposed that Greenberg's West Cushitic languages should be

separated from the Cushitic family and be represented as direct descendants of Afroasiatic. He coined the name *Omotic* (because most of these languages are spoken along the fringes of the great Omo River). Fleming's reclassification is accepted by most scholars who have worked on the languages of South-western Ethiopia (e.g., Bender 1971; Hayward 1990).

Two slightly different classifications were proposed to show the family-internal relationships of Omotic languages. These are the classifications proposed by Bender in 1971 which he revised in 1998 and the classification of Fleming (1976). Comparison of the verb morphology of *Ometo* languages confirms that Fleming's classification better represents the similarities and differences existing among the *Ometo* languages (cf. Azeb 1994, 1996). Thus, the family tree in the following page is based on Fleming's 1976 classification of Omotic. For our purpose here, the lower branches are shown only for the *Ometo* group, to which Maale belongs.

Fleming (1976: 51) stated that "[w]ithin the *Ometo* cluster, the family tree-model is unclear because each dialect seems to merge into the next one in any direction." Comparative lexical research by a number of scholars has shown that there has indeed been considerable lexical and phonetic diffusion among the members of the *Ometo* group, which complicates the sub-classification. However, based primarily on lexical comparisons, Fleming (1976) distinguished four sub-branches which are 'sharply distinct' from each other. These are labelled in the above family tree as North, East, West and South *Ometo*. With the exception of South *Ometo*, which consists of only Maale, each of the four sub-branches contains several 'dialects'. It should however, be noted that the distinction between 'dialects' and 'languages' among the speech varieties within North, East and West *Ometo* branches is not fully understood.



1.2.3 *Why is Maale unique within Ometo?*

The main characteristic that distinguishes Maale from the rest of Ometo is said to be the absence of verbal inflection in this language. Hayward (1987: 222) has the following remark about Maale:

[W]hat we do know of Maale leads us to consider it a highly aberrant language, at least in certain respects. The most outstanding instance of this is the drastic simplification of the verb inflection. (Comparing the

total paradigm of the Maale verb with, say, that of Wolaitta is rather like comparing an English based pidgin with Classical Greek!

It is true that verbal inflection in Maale is not as complex as that found in other Omoto languages. However, contrary to Fleming's report (1976: 51) which states that "In Male [sic], in the south, inflection has gone altogether, as far as we know", Maale still has some verbal inflection in areas of aspectual and modal distinctions; and in fact, verbal *derivation* in Maale makes as many distinctions as reported for other Omoto languages. More importantly, the nominal morphology of Maale is by far richer than that found in the north Omoto branches.

Maale appears to be crucial for the reconstruction of Proto-Omto at different stages or levels. To mention just a few examples, at the level of the reconstruction of Omto, Maale material proved useful in the reconstruction of 'terminal vowels' (cf. Hayward 1987) and in the reconstruction of the case system, particularly Oblique case marking in Omto (cf. Hayward forthcoming). At the level immediately higher than Omto (see family tree above), Maale provides further evidence for the controversial hypothesis put forward in Fleming (1976) with regard to the unity of 'Gimojan' (rightly called by Wedekind (1990) Ben-Yem-Om) including 'Gimira' (self-name Benchnon), 'Janjero' (self-name Yem) and languages belonging to the Omto group. This evidence involves the fact that Maale is a tone-marking language, as are Benchnon and Yem. The other Omto languages, e.g. Gamo, Zayse and Wolaitta have a tone-accent system as reported respectively, in Hayward (1984), Hayward (1990), and Azeb Amha (1996). Still on a higher level, Maale has retained a feature that helps to show the relationship between Western and Eastern Omotic. This involves the case marking system. The Eastern branches of Omotic, including languages such as Hamar, Banna, Aari and Dime, have a morphologically marked Accusative, realized by way of the suffix *-m*, and an unmarked Nominative system. In contrast to this, many of the Western Omotic languages, particularly languages belonging to the 'Gimojan'/Ben-Yem-Om branch including Maale, have a marked Nominative and an unmarked Accusative system. However, Maale marks indirect objects with *-m* which is obviously cognate with the Accusative case marking suffix *-m* of Eastern Omotic languages. (For details on the historical scenario which led to the shift of Omto languages from Accusative marking to Nominative marking languages, see Hayward and Tsuge 1998.)

1.2.4 *On the issue of dialects and bilingualism*

Under the present administrative division, the Maale area consists of six large units, known as *k'ebele*, each of which have varying numbers of villages within them. While most of the Maale are monolingual, people in the border areas of the north and north-east also speak Gofa. There is frequent contact and a limited degree of inter-marriage with the Aari in the west, and it is said that many people in this area are

bilingual in Aari. The Maale are also conscious of the linguistic influence of the Banna and Tsamay languages on their southern border and they cautioned the present author that villages in these areas are not the best places to 'learn good Maale'.

Due to distance and transport problems, it was not possible to do a proper investigation on dialect differences within a reasonable period of time. However, informants claim that there are a number of mutually intelligible, but distinct dialects. Four of these are considered important: firstly, the 'northern dialect', a variety spoken in areas including Lemo, Asheker, etc.; secondly, the 'south-west dialect' spoken in and around Beneta and Gero; thirdly the 'central variety' spoken in the heart land of the Maale area, in Bala and Mak'ana; and finally, the 'daulle dialect' spoken in the low lands in the south. (The term *daulle* refers to Maale people who live in the lowlands). The differences among these varieties are attributed to 'purity' and 'influences' from the neighbouring languages. For instance, the northern dialect is claimed to be different because it is 'influenced' by Gofa, a North Omoto language. The south-west dialect contains loans from Banna, a neighbouring east Omotic language. Similarly, the southern dialect is 'mixed' with Gofa (a North Omoto language) and Tsamay (a Cushitic language). On the other hand, the 'central dialect', which is the variety of Maale reported on in this study, is said to be the least affected by other languages. In his survey article, Siebert (1995: 3) reports a similar opinion:

The best or "purest" variety of Maale is said to be spoken in Balla (stated by 50% of the respondents) and in Kwebe (39%).

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in Koibe ('Kwebe' in the above quote), although some of the informants were commuters from the nearby villages such as Baala ('Balla' in the above quote) and Gomosho. Koibe is a small but fast expanding village, where a weekly market is held which is attended by people from the neighbouring villages, and where the office of the Beneta-Koibe *k'ebele* (civil administrative unit), the Kebele's police headquarters, and one of the only two clinics for the whole Maale area are also located.

1.2.5 *Aim and context of the present work*

This study was conceived in late 1995 with two goals in mind: to document the Maale language and to undertake a sociolinguistic study of language use and language development in the South Omo Zone. The title of our proposed research was: *Minority Language and Regional Development: the case of Maale, Ethiopia*.

This project was initiated in a unique time in Ethiopian history during which language was taken to be *the* most important factor in the expression of social and cultural identity and territorial organization. Prior to 1994, Amharic was the only language used as medium of instruction in primary schools in all parts of the country. (From 1979-1989, fifteen of the over seventy Ethiopian languages were used

as media of instruction in national literacy campaigns. Text materials for adult literacy programs were written in these languages. However, their use was not extended to the formal education system.) In its first years after taking power in 1991, the present Government of Ethiopia proposed a number of radical social and political reforms, among them the promotion of a federal system and a political recognition of ethnic and linguistic diversity in the country. The regional and local administrative structure was reorganized, and a new educational and cultural policy was announced. Relating to the recognition of equal rights of languages, a clause was included in the new constitution drawn up in 1995. For example, article 39.2 of this constitution states:

Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history.²

In the years 1994-96 the promotion of languages was considered as one of the main issues in the development of the new Regional States. The structure of Regional States' Ministry of Education includes a section entitled "Department of the Study of Nations and Nationalities Languages", set up to facilitate the promotion of local languages. Although these developments in themselves are positive steps, a number of questions were raised by the people about their consequences and their implementation (cf. Cohen 1999 on the reaction of local people in southern Ethiopia on the effects of the Language Policy).

One of the recurrent questions was how a country with at least 70 languages most of which were unstudied could achieve the goal of promoting several dozens of languages simultaneously. In the Southern Omo Zone to which Maale belongs, there are about twelve languages; some of these belong to the Cushitic, some to the Omotic and others to the Nilo-Saharan language family. Besides, none of these local languages is used as a *lingua franca* among all of these groups. The challenge was to determine how the Zone was going to further the development of each of these languages, or alternatively, which one of them would be chosen to be used for educational and administrative purposes. Thus, the present study, besides aiming to provide a basic description of Maale grammar, initially planned to observe efforts and achievements in regional development in relation to the language policy.

However, during the present research it was observed that the language policy did *not* continue to enjoy the initial commitment and rigour at the stage of policy implementation. Understandably, the Zone came to emphasize other priority development projects, e.g., in the sectors of health and infrastructure, at the expense of certain educational matters, among them language and curriculum policy.

² Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, *Federal Negarit Gazeta* 1(1), 21 August 1995 (published December 1996).

According to (the low) Ethiopian standards, the South Omo Zone is one of the least developed areas. National Census Report figures for Ethiopia (of 1994) show that it has only a very low percentage of the population that completed formal education up to grade 12, comparing unfavourably with the rest of the country. Also, 92% of its population is rural, also higher than the national average. The problems affecting language development are thus, budget shortage and lack of expertise in the educational sector. It seems, however, that with the intention of filling this gap, the Regional State now uses a quota system for student enrolment in higher education and for job opportunities whereby people from 'disadvantaged areas' - such as the region to which Maale belongs - are given priority.

At present, Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, is used as a medium of instruction at primary schools and as the working language of the administration in the South Omo zone. Despite the political agenda behind it, the Ethiopian Language Policy has one advantage from the linguistic point of view: the continued interest on the part of the Government and the people involved in the value of language as a social asset will lengthen the lives of many minority languages in Ethiopia that face the risk of extinction without being properly documented.

Because of practical problems mentioned above, we focused on one of the original goals of our research. That is, the emphasis of our research has of necessity shifted towards the description of Maale grammar. Hence the title: *The Maale Language*.

1.3 Theoretical and methodological preliminaries

In studying Maale grammar we chose not to start with one theoretical approach as a guiding principle. Rather, we followed a more or less "problem-oriented" approach. That is, where necessary, we pointed out which of the current theories would be relevant in accounting for the Maale data. For instance, the chapters dealing with morphology, Chapters Three to Six, show that the traditional 'item and arrangement morphology' which regards words as realizing ordered sequences of morphemes is not adequate for the analysis of Maale data. Such theories cannot account for portmanteau morphemes, i.e., cases in which a single morph is an exponent of two or more morphemes which express grammatical or semantic functions. For instance, definiteness, gender and case may be expressed by one and the same morpheme in Maale. Furthermore, the same meaning or grammatical function may be obligatorily expressed more than once in the same word; an example of this in Maale is the marking of negation in verbs. Data like these can be better accounted for by Word and Paradigm Morphology as outlined in Matthews (1972, 1974), Anderson (1977, 1982) and Zwicky (1985) and subsequent works. In relation to this, the polysemy versus homonymy issue is accounted for through syncretism, which is motivated by the principle of economy (cf. Corbett 1991). Several theories are engaged in the

debate whether or not grammatical categories such as subject and object are primitives or not and on what bases they should be defined (cf. Relational grammar, Principle and Parameters Theory, Lexical Functional Grammar, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar). Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine show that the notion of the grammatical relation subject is essential in Maale. However, the data on logophoric pronouns (Chapter Four), switch reference markers (Chapter Eight), and word order (Chapter Twelve) show that defining this grammatical relation only with respect to syntactic position is not adequate. Finally, in the analysis of complex sentences in Maale (Chapter Eight), the two-way division of clausal relations as co-ordinate and subordinate forms is not satisfactory; it is necessary to recognize a third type of syntactic relation between clauses, i.e., co-subordinate relation, as advocated in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), to account for complex sentences involving converbs.

The methodology adopted in data collection focused not only on structural forms. Emphasis has also been placed on various semantic nuances expressed through the typical and atypical uses of structures. For instance, we note that in certain pragmatic contexts, dependent clauses may be used as main clauses. Furthermore, in combination with certain discourse functional morphemes, negation may be used not to deny a property or situation but to assert it. Information such as this is obtained from texts (narratives, spontaneous conversations and dialogues). Next to standard questionnaires for linguistic fieldwork (e.g., Bouquiaux and Thomas 1992), questionnaires were used which were prepared in advance by the researcher based on current interests in the field of linguistics, e.g. topics discussed in various typological studies. Occasionally, direct appeal to the intuition and judgement of the speakers was also necessary to understand the system.

The data were collected during two fieldwork periods in Maale area: a first period from April 1996 up to December 1996 and a second one from January 1997 up to July 1997. I worked with several native speakers; some of these gave so much time and interest that this book is as much their work as it is mine. My main research assistant was Meseret Metaferia, 28, born in Gomosho. Meseret worked with me both in my first and second fieldwork periods. He was often joined by other assistants, who helped at different stages of the research and for different spans of time. These include: Beletech Tilahun, 20, born in Koibe; Dangachew Desie, 27, born in Koibe; Israel Melka, 24, born in Lemo Gento; Oyisha Tushkulo, 48, born in Beneta and Tammene Lale, 28, born in Koibe.

Financial support for the project was jointly provided by WOTRO-DGIS (Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research) and the CNWS (Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies), which I acknowledge with gratitude.

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

The following are consonant phonemes of Maale.

Table 2.1 Consonant Phonemes of Maale

		Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Plain stops:	Vls.	p	t	ts	c	ʔ
	Vd.	b	d	j	g	
Glottalized stops:	Vls.			s'	c'	k'
	Vd.	ɸ	ɗ			
Spirants:	Vls.			s	ʃ	h
	Vd.			z	ʒ	
Nasals		m	n			
Liquids:	Ltr.		l			
	Vbr.		r			
Glides		w		y		

In table 2.1 the dental/alveolar and palatal consonants which are put in a box form the class of sibilant consonants. (See section 2.1.1.4 for a discussion on the phonological characteristics of these segments.)

2.1.1 Phonotactics

2.1.1.1 Sequences of consonants

Sequences of consonants occur only in word-medial position. Only two consonants may occur in sequence. The first consonant (C₁) can be any one of the sonorants: r, l, n, m, or the sibilants s and ʃ. Except in the case of homorganic articulation of nasals preceding oral obstruents there is no restriction on the choice of the second consonant (C₂)

1.	wórtsi	'spear'	dólc'a	'coffee leaf'
	bérta	'before'	mélzi	'dry'
	márka	'witness'	gísta	'bird (speci.)'
	mente	'twins'	k'umpáta	'big knife'
	bangala	'jaw'	dambaye	'tobacco plant'
	zánze	'trunk'	dúm?are	'cattle insect'
	bús?-	'grind'	woftó	'long crested hawk eagle'

When members of the set of consonants **n, m, s, ʃ, r** and **l** constitute a cluster, the C_1 position is filled by **r** or **l**, and the C_2 position by **n, m, s** or **ʃ**, as illustrated below.

2.	ʃérne	'bald (on both sides of forehead)'
	dársi	'elephant'
	torʃ-	'separate grain from cob'
	harm-	'uproot'
	kólmo	'property'
	kuls-	'feed somebody by hand'
	tilb-	'shear'

This shows that the preferred consonants in C_1 position are **r** and **l**, which, among the members of the set, rank highest in the sonority scale. An exception to this generalization is observed in the following borrowed words from Amharic in which C_1 is filled by **s** and C_2 by **m** and **t** respectively: **masmáre** 'line', **?astamare** 'teacher'. In other borrowed words in which C_1 position is filled with consonants other than **n, m, s, ʃ, r** and **l**, the cluster is broken by adding a vowel in between. Thus, Amharic **māzmur** 'prayer song' is pronounced in Maale as **mazamure**.

In sequence of consonants in which both members are liquids, C_1 is filled by **r** and C_2 by **l**. No examples are found in which the reverse order occurs.

3.	kúrle	'dove'
	warle	'rabbit'

When C_1 in sequence of consonants is a nasal, it is pronounced as **n, ɲ, ŋ** or **m** depending on the consonant that follows the homorganic nasal. Thus, we find **n** before alveolars, **ɲ** before velars, **ɲ** before palatals and **m** before labials.

4.	mente	'twins'
	?áŋko	'ant'
	gónja	'wall'
	gímpi	'old (of people)'
	dambayi	'tobacco'

Preceding the glottal stop, however, we find both **n** and **m**, as in:

5. **dúmʔare** 'cattle tick'
gínʔo 'sleep'

The two nasal consonants of the language, **n** and **m**, are clearly phonemic, contrasting in word-initial and in intervocalic positions, as in **máári** 'house' vs. **náári** 'calf' and **gone** 'true' vs. **gome** 'punishment, curse'. The nasals **ŋ** and **ɲ**, however, are only found preceding velar and palatal consonants respectively, as shown in (4) above. We conclude that the distinction between **n** and **m** is neutralized in the **C₁** position of sequences of consonants and when **C₂** is not a glottal stop. When nasals occur in **C₂** position, this neutralisation does not take place.

6. **férne** 'bald'
harm- 'weed'

In our data, no words with clusters of the type **ln**, **mn** and **sn** are found. All consonants except **j**, **ts** and **y** can be geminated. Other attested consonant sequences are summarized in Table 2.2. The symbol **N** is used in this table to represent the homorganic forms of **n** and **m**.

Table 2.2 Sequences of Consonants

C₁	N	m	n	s	ʃ	r	l
C₂							
p	+					+	+
t	+			+	+	+	+
c	+					+	
k	+			+	+	+	+
ʔ		+	+	+	+	+	+
b	+					+	+
d	+					+	
	+					+	
g	+					+	+
m		(mm)		+		+	+
n			(nn)			+	
ʃ						+	+
ɖ							

s'	+						+
c'	+					+	+
k'	+					+	+
s				(ss)		+	+
f					(ff)	+	+
h						+	
z	+					+	
ʒ						+	
ts	+					+	+
r						(rr)	
l						(ll)	+
w							
y							

2.1.1.2 Allophonic variation

p has two variants: [p], a voiceless bilabial stop, and [ɸ], a voiceless bilabial approximant, which are alternatively used when they are non-geminate.

7. paró or ɸaró 'horse'
 kapi or kaɸi 'bird'

When geminated or when used as a member of a cluster, however, only p is used.

8. kaappi 'branch'
 gimpi 'old'

2.1.1.3 Free variation

Free variation between k and ʔ: The alternation between k and ʔ occurs when one of these occurs at the C₂ position of a cluster (often attested with f or s). In simple lexical forms we have a few examples of this shown below.

9. ʔafki or ʔafʔi 'meat'
 bof'kóró or bofʔóró 'place name'

The **k** and **ʔ** alternation affects verb roots ending in **-sk** or **-ʃk** as well:

- 10a. **kesk-í** or **kesʔ-í** 'having gone out'
 go out-CNV₁ go out-CNV₁
- 10b. **naʃk-é-ne** or **naʃʔ-é-ne** 'liked'
 like-PF-A:DCL like-PF-A:DCL

Informants claim that the free variation between **k** and **ʔ** is dependent on dialect differences. According to them people from the lowland area of Maale (referred to as the Maale of Daule) use the variant with **ʔ** while those from Koibe and its surroundings use **k**. However, the author observed that people from Koibe (where the research was done) were not consistent in their choice of the two variants.

Free variation between **h** and **y**, and **h** and **w**: These two types of variations take place word initially. The free variation in question is partly determined by the quality of the vowel which occurs following word-initial **h**, **y**, or **w**.

Example (11) demonstrates variation between **h** and **y**.

11. **hérga** or **yérga** 'axe'
 heemó or **yeemó** 'flying ants'
 hélo or **yélo** 'part of the ceiling which the central pole joins'
 hiippe or **yiippe** 'eyelash'
 hell- or **yell-** 'arrive'
 henk'- or **yenk'-** 'look after cattle'
 hérk'- or **yérk'-** 'kiss'
 hírg- or **yírg-** 'be worried'
 hírk- or **yírk-** 'became dishonored, be humiliated'

In some words the **h** and **y** alternation is not allowed as indicated by (*) below:

12. **hátsi** 'now' but: ***yátsi**
 háybi 'death' ***yáybi**
 hampúró 'vulture' ***yampúró**
 yeepi 'tears' ***heepi**

The number of words that have **h** as a fixed consonant is much larger than those with **y** as a word-initial consonant. In the list of Maale lexicon used for this phonological description, only one word, i.e., **yeepi** 'tears' is listed having a non-alternating initial **y**. In other words where **y** occurs initially, it can be replaced by **h** without changing meaning or causing ungrammaticality. The other way round does not always hold true because replacing initial **h** by **y** is not always possible, as example (12) demonstrates. This suggests that the norm for the alternate forms in example (11) is the variant with **h**. From the examples in (11) and the exceptions in (12) it is clear that the conditioning factor for the free variation is the vowel following word-

initial **h**: when word-initial **h** is followed by front vowels **i** or **e**, it can optionally be replaced by **y** (cf. examples in 11); when it is followed by **a**, the free variation does not take place (cf. examples in 12). When word initial **h** is followed by **o**, it may be replaced by **w**, as will be shown below.

Free variation between **h** and **w**: Initial **h** alternates with **w** in the following words.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----|--------------|------------------|
| 13. | holle | or | wolle | 'neck' |
| | hoofō | or | woofō | 'cane' |
| | hoori | or | woori | 'weed' |
| | hork' | or | work' | 'weed' |
| | hobb- | or | wobb- | 'became crooked' |

Here too the free variation in question does not apply across the board. There are several words beginning with **w** and **h** which are not affected by the alternation described above:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| 14. | haise | 'story, news' | *waise |
| | háás'i | 'broom' | *wáás'i |
| | waari | 'goat' | *haari |
| | waló | 'clearing knife' | *haló |

There are no words in which word-initial **h** is followed by **u**. The environment for the free variations shown above is:

h	(—>)	y/	— e, i
h	(—>)	w/	— o

2.1.1.4 Co-occurrence restriction: sibilants

In Maale the sibilant category includes **s**, **z**, **ʃ**, **ʒ**, **ts**, **c**, **j** as well as the ejectives **s'** and **c'**. These consonants form a natural class, as they are affected by a well-formedness condition which does not apply to other segment classes (cf. Hayward 1988). According to this well-formedness condition, if a word has more than one sibilant, all of these sibilants should agree in palatalization. In this section we discuss the distribution of sibilant consonants and the well-formedness condition affecting them.

ts, **c** and **j** are distributionally restricted. **ts** does not occur word-initially and while all consonant phonemes may occur geminated, **ts** is never geminated. Since the non-occurrence in word-initial position is also a restriction affecting consonant clusters of the language, **ts** at first sight may appear to be a cluster of **t** and **s**. However, because of the following four reasons **ts** is analysed as a single, complex segment. Firstly, in word-medial position, **ts** contrasts with other single consonants.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------|---------|--------------|------------------|-------------|---------|
| 15. | ts - d - r | mátsi | 'bee' | mádi | 'grinding stone' | mári | 'larva' |
| | ts - z | wórtsi | 'spear' | wórzi | 'river' | | |

ts - t	hátsi	'now	hatí	'having stretched one self'
ts - s	gítsi	'snake (sp)'	gísi	'sieve'

Secondly, as with single consonants **ts** occurs in C_2 position of clusters as in **wórtsi** 'spear', **wóntsi** 'grinding stone' and **beltsi** 'penis'. Since sequences of three consonants are not allowed in this language, the occurrence of **ts** in such clusters supports the analysis of this segment as a single consonant. However, it can also be argued that **t** in the sequences **nts**, **rts**, and **lts** of the above words occurs to bridge the transition from the highly sonorous nasals and liquids to the following voiceless sonorant; this analysis would suggest that each consonant in **nts**, **rts**, and **lts** is independent. Hence, there is no segment as **ts**. This phonetic insertion of **t** between voiced and voiceless sonorants might be the historical origin of the complex segment **ts**. Synchronically, however, **ts** is contrastive and it also occurs intervocalically, i.e., where no consonant cluster is involved. Furthermore, even though there are no words with the cluster of **ns** recorded, there are several words such as **dúrsi** 'shoe', **dársi** 'elephant', **kuls-** 'feed somebody by hand', etc. with the sequence **rs** and **ls** where **t** is not added to bridge the transition between **r** and **s** and **l** and **s**. Thirdly, phonological rules affect **ts** as a unit. For instance, in morpheme boundaries **ts** changes to **s'** or **s** (cf. morphophonemic rules below for details). Finally, there are no other words consisting of **t** in C_1 position and consonants other than **s** in C_2 position as would be expected if **ts** represents two segments. On the other hand, where **s** is used as C_1 , both **t** and other consonants such as **k** and **m** are used in C_2 position, e.g. **mask-** 'wash', **masmáre** 'line' (the latter word is borrowed from Amharic). Thus, Maale words such as **gets-** 'put down' and **gest-** 'speak' are considered in this study as having the structure CVC and CVCC respectively.

A similar restriction affects **c**. Like **ts**, it does not occur in word-initial position except in interjections such as the following.

16. **cákátti** expression of anger for children
cáha to express disagreement during conversation; also as **fáha**
cúkkú to disperse chicken

Unlike **ts**, **c** may occur as a geminate or non-geminate C_2 consonant. In non-cluster positions it is always geminated.

17. **máccó** 'wife' **buucci** 'beard'
ǰúcci 'stone' **muucci** 'language'
ǰácci 'snow' **miicci** 'laughter'
c'úcci 'saliva' **foocci** 'guest'
kúcci 'hand' **ǰícci** 'soft'
c'acci 'pain in the body' **zaacci** 'lath'
?acci 'teeth' **?áácc-** 'hid'
ǰécc- 'woke up' **toocc-** 'looked down upon'

ʔoccolló	'peanut'	ʔigicci	'fearful'
c'ógacci	'sweat'		

In cluster with other segments c always occurs non-geminated.

18.	bárce	'finger millet'	c'árinci	'sky'
	c'anci	'bitter'	gárci	'old'
	c'ence	'sword'	ganco	'boiled maize'

Thus, while ts cannot be geminated, c almost always occurs geminated. This might suggest that these two segments are in complementary distribution and are allophones of the same phoneme. However, there is one position where both of these may occur, namely in C₂ position of clusters. Here, c, ts and also j yield near-minimal pairs (however, the status of j is not clear, see examples (21) and (22) below). Only four words are recorded showing the contrast between the three segments in question.

19.	ganco	'boiled maize' vs.	ʔanjo	'blessing'
	c'anci	'bitter' vs.	d'antsi	'breast'

Across morpheme boundaries c (both in its geminate or single form) changes to c' (a parallel alternation to ts which changes to s'; see also the discussion on morphophonemics below). Are ts and c therefore allophones of s' and c'? This does not seem to be the case because there are some words where these consonants are contrastive:

20.	k'ás'a	'itching (skin disease)'
	kátsa	'food (also múúzzi 'food')'
	k'áta	'teeth decay'
	k'os'itsi	'to be disappointed in somebody'
	k'otsi	'fever'
	háás'i	'broom'
	waatsi	'water'
	ʃec'c'-	'wake up (itr.)'
	ʃecc-	'wake up somebody (tr.)'

Although we have shown that j contrasts with another sibilant consonant, i.e., c in example (19), the phonemic status of j in Maale is not clear. j is recorded word-initially only as a free variant of ʒ as in (21). However, there are other words such as ʒoyi 'diviner' in which word-initial ʒ cannot be replaced with j.

21.	jáájó	or	ʒááʒó	'crazy'
	jooge	or	ʒooge	'big star'

Word-medially j is not a free variant of ʒ in our data.

22. ʔánjó 'blessing' *ʔánzó
gonja 'wall, not covered with mud' *gonza
mojóle 'jigger (seems to be a borrowed word)' *mozóle

It is possible, however, that the alternation between **3** and **j** also occurs in word-medial position as well for some speakers. In his unpublished list of Maale lexicon Donham recorded one of the above words with medial **3** instead of **j**: thus he has **mɔ3ɔle**.

As mentioned above, when there are two or more sibilants in a word, these tend to be either all alveolar sibilants or all palatal sibilants. The following forms illustrate this:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 23. | - palatal | | + palatal |
| | súgútsi | 'blood' | fúcci 'stone' |
| | súntsi | 'name' | c'árinci 'sky' |
| | suntsi | 'crab lice' | c'úgúcci 'louse' |
| | súsi | 'rope' | c'ógácci 'sweat' |
| | sáza | 'heart' | c'áfi 'insult' |
| | sérzi | 'diarrhoea disease' | c'ífe 'gall' |
| | sáizzi | 'flea' | foocci 'guest' |
| | saas'ine | 'box' | fóófi 'snake, general' |
| | sullússe | 'knife, sharp on both sides' | fúcci 'soft' |
| | | | c'énci 'sword' |

There are a few examples with verbs:

24. **fanc-** 'sell'
fiiŋ- 'remove'
ʒibarŋ- 'became windy' (alternatively, **ʒibars-**)
c'iiŋk- 'became cold'

This co-occurrence restriction of sibilants does not apply across morpheme boundaries as the following form illustrates.

- 25 **ʃú6-itsi** 'prayer' (ʃú6- 'pray' + **-itsi** = infinitival suffix)

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Vowel inventory

Maale has five oral vowels with contrastive vowel length.

i	u	ii	uu
e	o	ee	oo
a		aa	

All words begin with a consonant and end in a vowel. Where the word-initial consonant is a glottal stop, it can optionally be deleted allowing word-initial occurrence of vowels. In word-final position only i, e, a and o occur. Word-final vowels with low tone are devoiced before pause. Long vowels are very frequent in the language although minimal pairs are rare.

26.	ʔála	'beer'	ʔáálla	'new born baby'
	tóki	'foot'	tookí	'head'
	ʃáfi	'vein'	ʃaafi	'roasted grain'
	míʃó	'sister'	miifʃe	'money'
	bur-	'be spoiled'	buur-	'sweep dirt with stick'

Simple, underived words always end in short vowels. However, through affixation, sequences of identical and different vowels may occur (see below).

In words containing long vowels or diphthongs and geminate consonants or clusters of two consonants, the former typically occur before the latter, as the following examples demonstrate.

27.	búúlla	'egg'	puutta	'cotton'
	ḏááḏḏe	'snail'	maafála	'sand'
	zéégílsa	'7th month (in M. c)'	taabóte	'caterpillar'
	gúúrante	'rat (species)'	guugúntsi	'thunder'
	kóókíntsi	'example'	goofínni	'lung'
	s'éék'ire	'anus'	ʔeezzíme	'nephew'
	gogáík'k'	'shiver'		

2.2.2 Diphthongs

There are three falling diphthongs: au, ai and oi. Of these three, ai and oi are the most frequent in the lexicon.

28.	ai	oi	au
	haitsó	ʔóisi	hauffi
	'three'	'butter'	'rest'
	máizzi	ʔoita	ʔautti
	'liver'	'seat (type)'	'dream'
	waizzi	k'oida	ʃáúkki
	'ear'	'8th month'	'light (adj)'
	naizzi	koida	ʃaulle
	'hunger'	'chicken'	'left'
	kaizzi	goitsi	ʔáúkare
	'forest'	'path'	'face'
	báisi	wóímmó	sautti
	'son-in-law'	'elder brother's wife'	'tree (sp)'
	háibi	ʔóidfi	ʔauk'k'a
	'death'	'hot'	'new skin'
	sáizzi	tóiddi	c'aulle
	'flea'	'eldest child/sibling'	'mixed color'

The above diphthongs contrast with long vowels: **máízzi** 'liver' vs. **múúzzi** 'food'; **waízzi** 'ear' vs. **waari** 'goat'. A sequence of non-identical vowels as in the final syllable of **lékkeí** 'that up there (M:NOM)' which is derived from **léka** 'up there' and the nominative case marker -í, are not treated as diphthong because they involve a morpheme boundary.

2.3 *Morphophonemics*

2.3.1 *Consonant alternation*

Many of the morphophonemic processes observed apply to a specific morphological category. Such processes are mainly discussed in the sections dealing with the respective morphemes. This section presents recurring morphophonemic processes and reports on those inflectional categories which yield more than one morphophonemic process. An example of the latter case involves the inflection of nouns for case, definiteness, gender or number. For example, various phonological changes affecting the final consonant of nouns occur when an indefinite singular noun (citation form noun) is inflected for definiteness and case. The case suffixes in question are -ó and -á which respectively mark Absolutive and Nominative cases in definite singular or in indefinite plural nouns. Different historical accounts can be given as causes for the alternations listed below. For instance the alternations might be triggered by loss of a morpheme or a total assimilation of it to a previous consonant. We do not deal with such diachronic issues in this section.

♦ gemination of word-final consonant:

29.		IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	b -> bb	waabe 'evidence'	waabbó 'the witness/witnesses'
	t -> tt	pák'áte 'bat'	pák'áttó 'the bat/bats'
	d -> dd	dódi 'strong'	dóddó 'the strong one/strong ones'
	p -> pp	duupi 'grave'	duuppó 'the grave/graves'
	n -> nn	paana 'bandit'	paannó 'the bandit/bandits'
	k' -> k'k'	puk'a 'straw'	puk'k'ó 'the straw'
	k -> kk	booka 'market'	bookkó 'the market/markets'

♦ voicing of last voiceless sibilant:

30.		IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	ʃ -> ʒ	ʃafi 'running race'	ʃaʒó 'the race/races'
	s -> z	besi 'place'	bezó 'the place/places'
	ʃ -> ʒʒ	guuʃi 'knee'	guuʒʒó 'the knee/knees'
	ʃʃ -> ʒʒ	walaʃʃi 'leaf'	walaʒʒó 'the leaf/leaves'
	ss -> z	wússi 'thief'	wúzó 'the thief/thieves'

It should be noted that this voicing rule does not affect all words with a sibilant consonant:

31.	IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	bássi 'load (to be carried on back)'	bássó 'the load/loads'
	baassa 'levelled ground'	baassó 'the levelled ground'
	balafa 'digging instrument'	balaffó 'the digging instrument/ digging instruments'

♦ changing of the alveolar and palatal affricates **ts** and **c** to their respective ejective counterparts **s'** and **c'**.

ts → **s'**

32.	IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	megétsi 'bone'	megés'ó 'the bone/bones'
	mítsi 'wood'	mís'ó 'the tree/trees'
	s'ungútsi 'nail'	s'ungús'ó 'the nail/nails'
	mátsi 'bee'	más'ó 'the bee/bees'

cc → **c'**

33.	IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	buucci 'chin; beard'	buuc'ó 'the chin/chins'
	múcci 'language'	múc'ó 'the language/languages'
	fúcci 'stone'	fúc'ó or fúwó 'the stone/stones'
	fúcci 'soft'	fúic'ó 'the soft one/soft ones'
	foocci 'guest'	fooc'ó 'the guest/guests'

In a few words, suffixation of the morphemes **-ó** and **-á** results in the deletion of the alveolar sibilant **z** if **z** is preceded by a diphthong (34) or by one of the liquid consonants **l** or **r** (35). Only one example illustrating a similar deletion of **s** is attested (cf. last example in 34). Furthermore, as the forms in the second column of example (34) show, when deletion of the sibilant takes place, the second vowel of the diphthong is reanalysed as a glide (cf. section 2.4.2 on resyllabification). This might be to avoid sequence of three non-identical vowels.

34.	IDF:SG:ABS	DF:SG/IDF:PL:ABS
	saizi 'flea'	sayó 'the flea/fleas'
	waizi 'ear'	wayó 'the ear/ears'
	maizi 'liver'	mayó 'the liver/livers'
	kaizi 'forest'	kayó 'the forest/ forests'
	ʔóisi 'butter'	ʔóyó 'the butter/ (units) of butter'

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|-------------|--------------------|
| 35. | worzi | 'river' | woró | 'the river/rivers' |
| | ʔólzi | 'war' | ʔóló | 'the war/wars' |
| | ʔirzi | 'rain' | ʔiró | 'the rain' |

But in the following word where **z** occurs after a nasal, it is not deleted.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 36. | dónza | 'respected adult' | dónzó |
|-----|--------------|-------------------|--------------|

Suffixation of the locative marker **-ka** 'on/in' which is one of a few suffixes beginning with a consonant causes the change of word-final **ts** to **s**. The other suffixes which begin with a consonant include the temporal markers **-za** and **-nte**, and the dative/benefactive marker **-m**. Since these latter suffixes occur following other suffixes which end in a vowel, no morphophonemic rules arise from their suffixation.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 37. | ʔútsi | 'body' | ʔús-ka | 'on top' |
| | waatsi | 'water' | waas-ka | 'on the water' |
| | mítsi | 'tree' | mís-ka | 'on the tree' |

The **sk** cluster is frequent in verb roots, as in **másk-** 'wash'. Clusters with **ts** as **C₁** on the other hand do not occur in the language and the change of **tsk** cluster to **sk** may occur in order to maintain this word structure restriction. As mentioned in section 1.1.1, when the voiceless velar stop **k** occurs following **s** or **f**, it alternates with the glottal stop **ʔ**. Thus the words in (37) above can be alternatively pronounced as:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----|---------------|-------------|
| 38. | ʔús-ka | or | ʔúsʔa | 'on top' |
| | waas-ka | or | waasʔa | 'on water' |
| | mís-ka | or | mísʔa | 'on a tree' |

2.3.2 Sequence of vowels

Except for locative expressions such as **lóó** 'up there', and **lúú** 'down', no word-final long vowels have been observed in simple lexical forms. However, in morphologically complex forms a sequence of final vowels is allowed.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 39a. | saʔʔ-aa | gets-á-ne | '(they) put it on the ground' |
| | ground-LOC | put-IPF-A:DCL | |
| 39b. | ʔá-á | | 'that which exists' |
| | exist-IPF:REL | | |
| 39c. | beelamm-á-a | | 'the bond friend too' |
| | bond friend-NOM-INCL ₁ | | |

When case or gender suffixes are attached to nouns, an intervocalic glottal stop or glide consonant is deleted, resulting in sequences of identical or non-identical vowels.

40.	base form	suffix	derived form
	bayi 'cow'	-ó	baó 'the cow (F:ABS)'
	bayi 'cow'	-á	baá 'the cow (F:NOM)'
	nayi/naʔi 'child'	-ó	naó 'the child (F:ABS)'
	nayi/naʔi 'child'	-á	naá 'the child (F:NOM)'
	3oyi 'diviner'	-atsi	3oatsi 'the diviner (M:NOM)'

The deletion of final glottal stops in verb roots and the presence of verbal suffixes beginning with a short or long vowel create the possibility of having a sequence of two, three or more non-identical vowels. However, as will be shown in the following section, sequences of three vowels are generally avoided by adding an intervening glide.

2.3.3 *Glide insertion*

In many cases, when the vowels *i* or *e* (front vowels) are immediately followed by another vowel, the glide *y* is inserted in between. On the other hand, when *o* or *i* is followed by another vowel, the glide *w* is inserted. This glide insertion is optional when a sequence of only two vowels is involved. Examples (41) and (42) illustrate these two cases respectively:

- 41a. **ʔaʃʔi-y-a** **ʔagg-á-ne** '(he) adds meat too'
 meat-y-INCL₁ add-IPF-A:DCL
- 41b. **labb-é-y-á** 'the one that is tired'
 tired-PF:REL-NOM
- 42a. **karr-éll-ó-w-a** 'the door too'
 door-F-ABS-INCL₁
- 42b. **taa-kó-w-a** 'mine too'
 1SG:GEN-GEN-INCL₁

With sequences of three vowels, glide insertion seems to be obligatory.

- 43a. **ʔizá** **ʃow-áána** < **ʔizá ʃoʔ-áána**
 3FS:NOM give birth-TEMP₂
 'when she gave birth'
- 43b. **ʔiyátá** **múw-áána** < **ʔiyátá múʔ-áána**
 3PL:NOM eat-TEMP₂
 'when they ate'
- 43c. **ʔizi** **ków-áána** < **ʔizi kóʔ-áána**
 3MS:NOM search-TEMP₂
 'when he searched'

The glottal stop is not deleted when verb roots with long vowels are followed by the temporal marker *-áána*. Thus a sequence of four vowels is not attested.

44. *Yizi biiʔ-áána* 'when he smeared' **biiáána*

2.3.4 *Vowel raising*

The vowel *o* before *w* is raised to *u*.

45. *ʔus'-ú-w-a* 'the body too' < *ʔus'-ó + w + -a*
k'ólm-ú-w-a 'the property too' < *k'ólmó + w + a*
godatí-ku-w-a 'that of the lords too' < *godatí + ko + w + a*

Raising is also attested with the change of the optative marker *-ónk'ó* to *-únk'ó* when this suffix follows the labio-velar glide *w* as the difference in (46a) and (46b) shows:

- 46a. *ʃátink'-ónk'ó* 'let it be allowed!'
be_allowed-3:OPT
- 46b. *ʃáti maw-únk'ó* 'let it be allowed!' (*maʔ-* 'happen')
allowed happen-3:OPT

2.3.5 *Vowel assimilation*

The vowel of the verb root *geʔ-* 'say' undergoes complete assimilation to whatever vowel that follows it as part of the inflectional morpheme. This optional assimilation rule takes place when the glottal stop *ʔ* of the verb root is deleted, in which case, the vowel of the remaining (CV) root undergoes complete assimilation to the vowel of the suffix:

- 47a. *gá-á-ne* < *geʔ-á-ne*
say-IPF-A:DCL
 'says'
- 47b. *gé-é-ne* < *geʔ-é-ne*
say-PF-A:DCL
 'said'
- 47c. *maalleka gó-ó-tsi* < *geʔ-ó-tsi*
maalleka say-NRRC-NMZ
 'the one who is called Maalleka'

In several Omoto languages, there is a set of verb roots which consist of just a C segment. For instance, in Wolaitta (a North Omoto language) the verb roots for 'eat', 'say' and 'go' are respectively *m-*, *g-* and *b-*. The corresponding verb roots in Maale for 'eat' and 'say' are *múʔ-* and *geʔ-* with a CVC structure (the verb root for 'go' in

word-initial position but they do occur in syllable initial position as in **waa.tsi** 'water' and **ʔac.ci** 'teeth'. There are words with consonant clusters in medial position, but there are no syllables with consonant clusters. Since only a sequence of two consonants in word-medial position is allowed in Maale, the first consonant of the cluster is syllabified as a coda of the first syllable and the second consonant of the cluster is syllabified as the onset of the second syllable as in **gar.ci** 'old'. When a word contains sequences of two consonants C_1C_2 , C_1 can only be one of the sonorants **n, m, l, r** or the sibilants **s** and **ʃ**. This restriction is a word-structure restriction and does not affect the syllable structure because codas of syllables can be sonorants or any of the other segments (obstruents) as the syllabification of **harméne** 'weeded', **dúúdfi** 'selfish' and **kaappi** 'branch' as **har.me.ne**, **dúúdfi** and **kaap.pi** illustrates.

Except for some ideophones and words with the Dative suffix **-m**, there are no words ending with a consonant, whereas syllables may end with a consonant (see below). However, both syllables and words must begin with a consonant.

The status of the syllable in Maale phonology seems very weak, also because some morphological processes such as reduplication 'ignore' the syllable. For example, the frequently used derived intensive verb stem is formed by reduplicating only the first CV of the verb root and not the first syllable as a whole.

49. **ʃáʃáʃk-é-ne** 'ran hard' < **ʃaʃ.ké.ne** 'ran'
lólóómm-é-ne 'fell badly' < **loom.mé.ne** 'fell'

Thus, unless specified, when we talk of the distribution of consonants, we are referring to initial and medial positions of words rather than syllables.

2.4.1 Canonical forms

Maale has both open and closed syllables. In the following examples the syllable boundaries are marked with a dot (.).

CV	nú	'we'	bi.ti	'chief'	be.si	'place'
CVV	lóó	'up there'	púú.pi	'big'	máá-ri	'house'
CVC	pét.te	'one'	zér.tsi	'seed'	bar.gi	'rainy season'
CV ₁ V ₁ C	puut.ta	'cotton'	bool.li	'plain'	múúz.zi	'food'
CV ₁ V ₂ C	tóíd.di	'first born'	ʃauk.ki	'light (adj)'	hauf.ʃi	'rest'

Thus, all syllables begin with a consonant but they may end in a consonant or in a vowel. Long vowels can be the nucleus of both open and closed syllables. Syllable onsets and codas must be monosegmental. The nucleus of syllables can consist of a single vowel, long vowels, or a sequence of two vowels with different quality in the case of diphthongs.

2.4.2 *Resyllabification*

When the Absolutive and Nominative case markers -ó and -á are affixed to words such as **saizi** 'flea' and **ʔóisi** 'butter' the alveolar sibilants **s** and **z** are deleted (cf. section 2.3.1). When such word-medial deletion takes place, the second vowel of diphthongs preceding these deleted segments is resyllabified as a consonantal glide, as illustrated below:

50.	SG	PL	
	saizi	sayó	'flea'
	naizi	nayó	'hunger'
	waizi	wayó	'ear'
	maizi	mayó	'liver'
	ʔóisi	ʔóyó	'butter'

The resyllabification of the vowel **i** to **y** satisfies the structural restriction on Maale syllables which can be stated as 'no onsetless syllables'; also, a nucleus branching into three nodes is ill-formed.

2.5 *Tone*

Maale has two tones, high and low; the former is represented in the following discussion by ('); low-tone is left unmarked. Tone is realized only on vowels, there are no syllabic nasals or other tone-bearing consonants. Except for the following three short pronouns, **tá**, **né**, **nú** (representing shortened forms of **táání** 'I', **néení** 'you', and **núúní** 'we' respectively), locative **lóó** 'up', **lúú** 'down', **sóó** 'sideways', and possessive pronouns **ta** 'my', **ne** 'your' and **nu** 'our', no other monosyllabic words have been recorded.

The following examples illustrate the role of tone in distinguishing lexical meaning:

51.	work'itsi	'to weed'	hánnó	'this'
	wórk'itsi	'to spend the night'	hannó	'today'
	búll-	'open, translate'	k'óida	'grain drying place'
	bull-	'have miscarriage (of cattle)'	k'oida	'the 8th month'
	búr-	'ransack'	súntsi	'name'
	bur-	'to be spoiled, behave badly'	suntsi	'crab lice'
	ʔáútti	'dream'		
	ʔautti	'revenge'		

Long vowels and diphthongs carry an identical tone, showing that these form a structural unit.

2.5.1 *Tone in nominals*

In this section the tonal behaviour of nouns, adjectives and time adverbials is discussed. While each of these constitutes a distinct category, for our purpose here they can be discussed in the same section because they show a similar tone pattern. In two-syllable words with short vowels the following tone combinations are possible:

52a. LL

besi	'place'	tami	'fire'
d'aga	'anger'	woza	'happiness'
mente	'twins'	bargi	'rainy season'
tofa	'bush'	saʔa	'earth'
walli	'healthy'	carfi	'courageous'

52b. LH

sayó	'divorced woman'	zibó	'short stick'
boto	'pumpkin'	kuḥó	'bow-legged'

52c. HL

bóʔo	'wild animal'	púze	'kind of fly'
búni	'flower'	méyi	'sorghum'
méfi	'yoghurt'	má'do	'work'
wúdi	'hut'	ḡáfi	'green, unripe'
gúri	'empty'	hátsi	'now'

52d. HH

móló	'fish'	márró	'female calf'
kémó	'hunting'	kórnó	'scorpion'
tírbó	'porridge'	zíró	'yesterday'

Long vowels in a syllable bear identical tones.

53a. LLL

baazzi	'thing'	boolli	'plain'
maati	'grass'	maaki	'leopard'
miicci	'laughter'	wooffi	'bamboo'
waatsi	'water'	daafe	'cobra'
boore	'white'	haammi	'industrious'
waizzi	'ear'	koida	'chicken'

53b. HHL

púúpi	'big'	dééppi	'big'
bééri	'common cold'	ʔááʔe	'raw, green'
búúra	'dirt'	ʃááza	'transparent'
máári	'house'	ʔáátsi	'sweet'
múúzzi	'food'	búúk'i	'grey hair'
díini	'gum'	mázzi	'liver'
ʃáúkki	'light (adj.)'	ʔóisi	'butter'

53c. LLH

piis'ó	'comb'	peeró	'he/she/they alone'
waaró	'flesh around ribs'	woordó	'liar'
zooró	'men's group work song'	loomó	'lemon'
yeemó	'flying ants'	haitsó	'three'

53d. HHH

wúúkó	'fox'	zóókó	'infertile woman'
zíró	'hind-leg's meat of oxen'	géédó	'younger sister'
záá3ó	'crazy'	wóímmó	'elder brother's wife'

The following are examples of tone combinations in trisyllabic words:

54a. LLL

bokolli	'pool'	kolayi	'he-goat'	bak'ana	'nape of neck'
bofori	'bachelor'	wofana	'male calf'	wodara	'rope'

54b. LHL

balitti	'forehead'	moráde	'sharpeners'
bidintsi	'ashes'	ʃeléʔe	'light'
megétsi	'bone'	kamítsi	'short'
mojóle	'jigger'	ʃencénni	'thin'

54c. LLH

mafumbó	'wrestling'	dingiccó	'sweet potato'
ziginó	'yesterday'	tazu6ó	'11th month (September)'

54d. LHH

hampúró	'vulture'
----------------	-----------

54e. HLL

pák'ate	'bat'	kó6issi	'foot print'
kílank'e	'hawk'	kúkute	'owl'
gápani	'feather'	gápintsi	'end'
ʔúgutsi	'enset, plantain'	ʔórgacci	'rich'
múlitsi	'full'		

- 54f. HH(H)L
 ʔilátti 'noise' kúmútsi 'full'
 bórsínti 'shame' kóókíntsi 'example'
 ʔáʃtímmi 'hermaphrodite'
- 54g. HHH
 c'ilámó 'elephantiasis'
 ʔómʔóló 'beans'
- 54h. HHLL
 ʃííʃitsi 'prayer'
 guúrante 'rat-like animal'

The pattern HLH is not attested in simple words. In morphologically complex forms, however, this pattern is found, e.g., ʔúgus'-á 'the onset' (involving ʔúgutsi 'onset' and the suffix -á which marks definite Nominative). Both in disyllabic and trisyllabic words, words ending with H tone are fewer in number than those ending in L tone.

2.5.2 *Tone in verb roots*

All verb roots are bound forms; independent phonological verb forms have at least one vowel suffix. For the purpose of exposition, we can classify verb roots into different canonical shapes based on the number of consonants and vowels. These are CV-, CVC-, CVCC-, CVVC-, CVVCC-, CVCVC-, CVCVCC-, CVCCVC- and CVVCVCC-. It should be noted that verb roots of the CVCCVC- and CVVCVCC-shape are rare. Below, we group Maale verb roots into tone classes based on these canonical shapes.

Tone in CV(C)- and CVCC- verb roots:

- 55a. H
 ʔá- 'be, exist' ʔúc'- 'wipe'
 búɸ- 'destroy, dismantle' búll- 'open' kónk'- 'embrace'
- 55b. L
 ʔer- 'know' maɸ- 'work'
 ʃukk- 'slaughter' ʔekk- 'take'
 harm 'weed'

Tone in CVVC(C)- verb roots:

- 56a. LL
 yeekk- 'cry' ʔookk- 'pass'
 ʃiif- 'remove' c'uull- 'strangle'
 kaafk- 'worship'

- 56b. HH
 ʔáácc- 'hide (tr.)' láál- 'scatter'
 dúúzz- 'cut, break' ʔóózz- 'make noise'

Tone in CVC(C)VC(C)- verb roots.

57. LL LH
 galat- 'thank, praise' zibárk'- 'be windy'
 ɖakal- 'inherit' dik'átt- 'be scared'
 ʔagis's'- 'move' ɖagáɖ- 'be angry'
 gumurk'- 'believe' godánk'- 'curse'
 gumʔat- 'kneel' gilk'áf- 'tickle'
 dandaʔ- 'be able'

Tone in CVVCVC(C)- verb roots.

58. HHH LLL
 súúruk'- 'whistle' giifif- 'close (of eye, momentarily)'

Since most verb roots have only one or two vowels, possible tone combinations are also limited. The HL (e.g. yíɖɪfɪk- 'sneeze') and HH combinations are particularly rare. Note that in examples (55) through (58) there are a number of verb roots which end with one of the velar consonants **k** or **k'**. Hayward (1996) reconstructs these and other velar consonants observed in various Omotic languages as reflexes of a Proto-Omotic perfective aspect marker *k.

2.5.3 *Tone and affixation*

Tonal differences may indicate morphological distinctions. For example, definite plural and definite masculine singular nouns are marked for Nominative and Absolutive case by -i and -i respectively.

- 59a. máár-átsí mazz-ínt-é-ne
 house-M:NOM build-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The house is built'
- 59b. ʔííní máár-átsí mazz-é-ne
 3MS:NOM house-M:ABS build-PF-A:DCL
 'He built the house'
- 59c. laaló-ntsí ba-ató ɖants-é-ne
 woman-PL:DF:NOM cow-PL:ABS milk-PF-A:DCL
 'The women milked the cows'

- 59d. **ʔíni** **laaló-ntsi** **ʔééll-ibá-se**
 3MS:NOM woman-PL:DF:ABS call-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He did not call the women'

Most verb roots can be distinguished from their nominal counterparts by their tone patterns. For ease of pronunciation, the inflected form of the verb root is given below.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 60. | máfo | 'work' | mad-é-ne | 'worked' |
| | ʔóli | 'war' | ʔol-é-ne | 'fought' |
| | póʔʔi | 'light' | poʔʔ-é-ne | 'became light' |
| | ʔánjo | 'blessing' | ʔanj-é-ne | 'blessed' |
| | tálʔe | 'debt' | talʔ-é-ne | 'borrowed/lent' |
| | dábo | 'mistake' | dab-é-ne | 'erred, missed a target' |
| | bázi | 'race' | baʃk-é-ne | 'run' |

The verbal form **lám-é-ne** 'repeated' and the numeral **lamʔó** 'two' also show a similar tone alternation. A number of inchoative verb forms derived from adjectives also have a different tone pattern from their sources, as illustrated below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 61. | dódi | 'strong' | dod- | 'become strong' |
| | púrta | 'bad' | purt- | 'be bad, spoiled' |
| | pízze | 'straight' | pizz- | 'be straight' |
| | mélzi | 'dry' | mel- | 'become dry' |
| | zértsi | 'seed' | zerk'- | 'saw' |
| | s'áádʔi | 'dry (of mud)' | s'aad- | 'become dry' |
| | gárci | 'old' | garc- | 'become old' |
| | ʃeléʔe | 'light' | ʃeleʔ- | 'become light' |

However, this tonal alternation does not exist between all verb roots and their nominal or adjectival counterparts. This can be seen from the identical tone on both nominal and verbal forms in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 62a. | goʃi | 'farm' | goʃk- | 'plough' |
| | kaaʃi | 'cult' | kaaʃk- | 'worship' |
| | ginʔi | 'sleep' | ginʔ- | 'sleep' |
| 62b. | deetsi | 'heavy' | dees's'- | 'become heavy' |
| | ʔákki | 'new' | ʔákk- | 'make new' |
| | kóʃi | 'good' | kóʃk- | 'become good' |
| | ʔúkke | 'nearby, close' | ʔúkk- | 'become close' |

Most morphemes keep their tone unaltered in all inflections or derivations. But the tone of some morphemes can be affected by that of the noun or verb root to which they are attached. The morphemes **-ó** and **-é-**, marking 'indefinite plural or definite

singular' and 'perfect aspect' respectively, are examples of morphemes with fixed tones:

63.	ḡoʃori	'bachelor'	ḡoʃoró	'bachelors'
	ḡúka	'mountain'	ḡúkkó	'mountains'
	galat-	'thank'	galat-é-ne	'thanked'
	?áácc-	'hide'	?áácc-é-ne	'hid'

The morpheme **-atsi** marking 'definite masculine singular' or 'indefinite plural' (the latter meaning occurs only with a closed class of nouns ending in **-ó/-o** in the singular) however, copies the immediately preceding tone of the nominal root as illustrated in (64 and 65).

64a.	nayi	'child'	naʔʔatsi	'the child'
	tiiki	'monkey'	tiikatsi	'the monkey'
	botó	'pumpkin'	botatsi	'the pumpkin/pumpkins'
64b.	bóʔi	'wild animal'	bóʔʔátsi	'the wild animal'
	máári	'house'	máárátsi	'the house'
	móló	'fish'	mólátsi	'the fish/fishes'
65.	piró	'trap'	piratsi	'traps'
	pank'ó	'frog'	pank'atsi	'frogs'
	zaye	'horn'	zayatsi	'horns'
	sayó	'divorced woman'	sayatsi	'divorced women'
	márró	'female calf'	márrátsi	'female calves'
	túko	'coffee'	túkátsi	'coffees'

The infinitival morpheme **-itsi** has low tone on both vowels. However, when it is affixed to verb roots with low tone, the first vowel of the infinitival marker may optionally be assigned a high tone.

66.	ḡaʃk-itsi	or	ḡaʃk-ítsi	'to run'
	ʃanc-itsi	or	ʃanc-ítsi	'to sell'
	laamm-itsi	or	laamm-ítsi	'to change'
	dod-itsi	or	dod-ítsi	'to become strong'

But verb roots with high tone have only one possibility:

67.	ḡécc-itsi	'to wake up'
	láh-itsi	'to lie down'
	búll-itsi	'to open'
	múʔ-itsi	'to eat'

The high-tone insertion rule in derived forms is productive and is applied to larger syntactic units to avoid phrases with low tone on all vowels. This can be illustrated

with the copula marker **-ke**, which is attached to nominals. If this morpheme is attached to nouns with low tone on all of its syllables, the last vowel of the nominal root gets high tone; if it is attached to words with one or more high tones, no change occurs on the base form as can be seen from the forms in (68) and (69):

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------|---|----------------------|
| 68. | dee fa | 'medicine' | hayí dee fá ke | 'this is medicine' |
| | fo fo ri | 'bachelor' | hayí fo fo rí ke | 'this is a bachelor' |
| | tami | 'fire' | hayí tamí ke | 'this is fire' |
| | took i | 'head' | hayí tookí ke | 'this is a head' |

But:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------|--|------------------|
| 69. | dón ko | 'gossip' | hayí dón ko ke | 'this is gossip' |
| | dák ka | 'small' | hayí dák ka ke | 'this is small' |
| | sú gutsi | 'blood' | hayí sú gutsi ke | 'this is blood' |

Other instances where we find high tone insertion of the type described above include the suffixation of the Instrumental marker **-na** and the Ablative **-ppa** to a nominal stem with low tones on all vowels.

The following are examples of inflectional morphemes maintaining the same tone regardless of the tone pattern of the base form to which they are affixed:

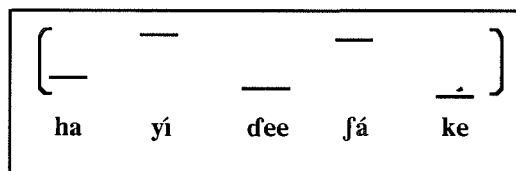
Nominal	Verbal
-ó [DF:ABS]	-é- [PF]
-á [DF:NOM]	-á- [IPF]
-éll- [F]	-andá- [F:IPF]

Morphemes which change their tone depending on the tone pattern of the base form:

Nominal	Verbal
-ats- [M]	-itsi [INF]

2.5.4 *Tone in phrases*

There is downdrift of tone in alternating sequences of HLHL, as the representation of **hayí dee****fá****ke** 'this is medicine' below shows:



There do not appear to be tone rules cutting across word boundaries. This can be illustrated with demonstratives used in isolation and when modifying nouns.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| 70. | NOMINATIVE | ABSOLUTIVE | |
| | hayí | háya | 'this (M)' |
| | hánná | hánnó | 'this (F)' |
| | háátá/hantsí | háátó/hantsi | 'these (PL:M/F)' |
| | yéyí / yéi | yéya | 'that (M)' |
| | yénná | yénnó | 'that (F)' |
| | yéyátá/intsí | yéyátó | 'those (PL:M/F)' |
- 71a. hayí balitt-á 'this forehead'
 this:NOM forehead-NOM
 (cf. balitti 'forehead')
- 71b. yéyí wodar-á 'that rope'
 that:NOM rope-NOM
 (cf. wodara 'rope')
- 71c. hánná ?úgus'-á 'this ensete'
 this:F ensete-NOM
 (cf. ?úgutsi 'ensete')

As with demonstratives, a modifying adjective and its head noun retain their respective tones. In the following Maale examples, the adjective precedes the noun.

72. deetsi bássi 'a heavy load'
 ?odossi mítsi 'a tall tree'
 púúpi nayi 'a big boy/child'
 dákka tiiki 'a little monkey'

The same can be observed for possessive constructions as well:

73. dóc'a besi 'place of rats'
 tami besi 'place of fire'
 móló máizzi 'fish's liver'
 botó búni 'pumpkin's flower'
 fofori máári 'bachelor's house'
 maaki wáizzi 'leopard's ear'
 waari tooki 'goat's head'

The following phrases illustrate the tone pattern of the above forms in the plural.

74. mólátsi máyó 'livers of fish'
 botatsi búnnó 'pumpkins' flowers'
 maakkó wáyó 'leopards' ears'
 foforó mááró 'bachelors' houses'
 wááró tookkó 'goats' heads'

The word *waari* 'goat' presents a tonal irregularity. With the addition of -ó the expected tone pattern is LLH (**waaró*); the actual form, however, is HHH: *wááró* 'goats'.

Since Omoto languages are known to have a tone-accent system or stress-accent system, the Maale case raises the question whether this language shows an innovation or retention of a tone system that is lost in the other Omoto languages. At this point this question cannot be answered with full certainty; the prosodic system of all members of the family should be investigated in detail first. Based on the information available for some related languages, it can be shown that Maale (with five words as exceptions), is similar to tone-accent languages such as Gofa and Wolaitta in having a disyllabic word as a minimum tone-bearing unit. However, Maale is different from these languages because it allows sequences of low or high tones in a word, while in the former languages an underived word must have one and only one high tone-accent which is positionally restricted to the ultimate or penultimate vowel. Because of this, in simple lexical forms Maale allows more combinations of tone patterns than the other Omoto languages as shown in this chapter and in Azeb Amha (1997). But when morphology is involved, Wolaitta and Gofa exhibit more tone dynamics than Maale. These languages have tone deletion and shift in affixation. Because of their morphological complexity, these languages have a complex tone pattern in their verb inflection and derivation, but in Maale this is not the case. Tone in Maale, on the other hand, is more stable; as more affixes are added to a word, the tone of the previous morpheme(s) remains the same except in the case of the infinitival and definite masculine/indefinite plural marking morphemes.

With the exception of five words (three pronouns and two spatial expressions) the minimum independent word in Maale consists of two-syllables/tone bearing units. This combined with the fact that H tone has a limited distribution in word-final position may suggest that Maale perhaps shifted from a tone-accent system to a more classic tonal system. This appears to be convincing from the point of view of Omoto languages, many of which have a tone-accent system, e.g. Gamo (Hayward 1994), Zayse Hayward (1990), Wolaitta (Azeb Amha 1996). On the other hand, outside the Omoto cluster, many Omotic languages are tonal. In the Gimojan (Ben-Yem-Om) branch of Omotic, which consists of Bench, Yem and Omoto languages such as Gamo, Maale and Wolaitta, Yem makes three level tone and two glide (rising tone) distinctions (Wedekind 1990:78). According to Wedekind (1983, 1985), Breeze (1990) Bench has five level and a sixth glide tone (rising from level two to three). Thus, it is also possible that Maale retained a tone system which is lost in the other members of Omoto. In view of the more conservative nature of Maale, as witnessed in the case and number-marking system for example, this latter point of view seems plausible too. Further comparative research is needed to answer the question of innovation or retention.

CHAPTER 3

NOUNS

3.1 Citation form of nouns

In their citation form, Maale nouns are formally characterized by their ending in one of the vowels *i*, *e*, *o*, or *a*; there are no nouns ending in *u*. Although the number and the type of vowels used varies from language to language, in many Omoti languages nominals (nouns, adjectives and numerals) end in vowels (cf. Hayward 1987). These citation form final vowels are often treated as noun class markers. Synchronically, citation form final vowels do not correspond to meaning distinction, and it is not possible to predict the membership of nouns within one or the other class using semantic or other criteria.

The following are examples of citation form nouns in Maale:

1. "i-class"	"e-class"	"o-class"	"a-class"
ʃóóʃi 'snake'	túútte 'ostrich'	gúrgúro 'crocodile'	puuta 'cotton'
besi 'place'	miífje 'money'	k'árró 'python'	ziya 'bull'
waari 'goat'	murte 'chaff'	mádo 'work'	yérga 'axe'
ʔúússi 'sound'	k'ase 'elbow'	baló 'kidney'	gurda 'village'
ʔákki 'new'	ʔúkke 'near'	báró 'patient'	k'ára 'good'

As can be seen from the above examples, except for the *o*-class, all citation form final vowels are realized with low tone. The *o*-class however, may take either final high or low tone. As will be shown later, nouns ending in *o* also behave differently in inflection.

The final vowels of nouns in the citation form are replaced when any morpheme beginning with a vocalic segment is suffixed to the citation form, as in **puuta** 'cotton' and **puut-ó** 'the cotton (ABS)'. Generally, when the suffix begins with a consonant, the final vowel is not replaced: **ʔasi** 'a person' and **ʔasi-m** 'for someone'. However, in forms such as **beska** 'at/in a place' formed from **besi** 'place' and the Locative suffix **-ka**, and **máárka** 'in a house' which involves **máári** 'house' and the same locative suffix **-ka**, the final vowel of the base noun is replaced. This may be because the resulting consonant cluster is widely attested in the language. Syntactically, citation form nouns occur in direct object position of transitive verbs without any additional marking for case. They are also used, still without any formal modification, as predicative nominals and before peripheral case markers such as the Dative and Instrumental. In such contexts, citation form nouns are interpreted as

indefinite singular nouns. The following sentences illustrate the use of *ʃóóʃi* 'snake' in the three contexts mentioned above.

- As object noun: 2a. *ʔatsí ʃóóʃi wod-é-ne*
 person:M:NOM snake:ABS kill-PF-A:DCL
 'The man killed a snake'
- As predicative noun: 2b. *hayí ʃóóʃi-ke*
 this:M:NOM snake:ABS-BE:A:DCL
 'This is a snake'
- Before peripheral case: 2c. *ʔízi ʃóóʃi-na daʔ-int-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM snake:ABS-INST bite-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'He is bitten by a snake'

Morphologically distinct nominal categories in Maale include gender, number, case, diminutive and definiteness. The verb is not marked for any of these categories. Some of these nominal categories are mutually exclusive; thus, if a noun is morphologically marked for plural, it is not marked for gender and vice versa. Case however, is always marked. The following table summarizes the possible combinations of nominal affixes in a noun.

Table 3.1 Morphologically marked inflectional categories in Maale.

	Gender or Diminutive	Definiteness	Case
Singular	+	+	+
Plural	-	+	+

The above-mentioned nominal morphemes occur in the following order:

- Singular: Citation form-GENDER/DIMINUTIVE-CASE
- Plural: Citation form-PLURAL/DEFINITE-CASE

Before going into the discussion of each category, it is useful to note the following general points about the nominal morphology of Maale:

- ♦ Maale is an agglutinative language with some fusional characteristics. Although, as shown above, the boundaries between some morphemes can readily be recognized, there are a number of portmanteau morphemes which suggest that it is not satisfactory to use an item-and-arrangement approach in the analysis of Maale nominals. For example, the morpheme *-á* marks Nominative case and definiteness simultaneously while *-ó* marks Absolutive case and definiteness. Information about a nominal category, e.g., gender (which occurs in the first morpheme slot)

may be repeated in the next slot (e.g. in case markers) too. Furthermore, gender and number markers involve syncretism, e.g., the morpheme marking definite masculine in the singular is also used to mark indefinite plural.

- ◆ In terms of Case typology, Maale is a Nominative-Accusative language. However, unlike the widely attested pattern in Nominative-Accusative languages of having an unmarked Nominative and a marked Accusative, Maale has a marked Nominative and an unmarked Accusative. This is evident from the fact stated above that indefinite nouns occurring in subject position are morphologically marked for the Nominative case whereas those in object position are unmarked, i.e. they are identical to the citation form. Definite nouns occurring in subject position as well as those occurring in direct object position are morphologically distinct from the citation form. However, parallel to citation form nouns (see example 1 above), a definite noun which is morphologically marked for case occurs not only in direct object position, but also as a predicative nominal and as the base form to which peripheral cases such as the Dative and Instrumental are added. This phenomenon is widely attested in Omotic and Cushitic languages (cf. Hayward 1990 on Zayse). Scholars studying these languages refer to this case type as Absolutive (not Accusative). We follow this Omotic/Cushitic tradition and label both the morphologically unmarked and marked case of direct object nouns (i.e., of indefinite and definite nouns, respectively) as the Absolutive. The term Absolutive is appropriate also because the morphemes marking case in direct object position are used even when nouns are elicited in isolation (i.e., not in a sentential context). For example, when plural nouns equivalent to the English 'houses', 'two houses', 'the houses' etc. are elicited without a context, these are always given in the form they take in a sentence in the direct object position. Case morphemes vary according to gender and number. Below, each of the nominal categories such as definiteness, gender, number, etc. are discussed together with the case affixes they occur with, in each case showing the contrast between the two core cases, i.e., the Nominative and Absolutive. In section 3.4 the marking of both structural and peripheral cases is discussed in detail, and a summary showing the interaction between case and the other nominal categories is given.

3.2 Definiteness and case

In Maale, indefinite singular nouns are identical to the citation form as discussed in section 3.1 above. These are morphologically marked for the Nominative case by a high tone on the citation form final vowel, i.e. on *i*, *e*, *o* or *a*. In contrast, the Absolutive is identical to the citation form. Consider the following examples:

3.	Citation form	IDF:NOM	IDF:ABS
	ʃóóʃi 'snake'	ʃóóʃi	ʃóóʃi
	naʔi 'child'	naʔi	naʔi
	túútte 'ostrich'	túútté	túútte
	miiffje 'money'	miiffjé	miiffje
	gúrgúro 'crocodile'	gúrgúró	gúrgúro
	k'árró 'python'	k'árró	k'árró
	búúlla 'egg'	búúllá	búúlla
	yérga 'axe'	yérgá	yérga

Consider also the following examples:

- 4a. ʃóóʃi nayi ʃoʔ-á-mó búúlla búúll-á-y
 snake:NOM child:ABS give birth-IPF-RHT:Q egg:ABS lay egg-IPF-Q
 'Does a snake give birth to a baby snake or does it lay an egg?'
- 4b. ʔ-atsí ʃóóʃi wod-é-ne
 person-M:NOM snake:ABS kill-PF-A:DCL
 'The man killed a snake'

The definite form of a noun can be identified by various means. A few singular masculine nouns are marked for definiteness by the suffix **-(z)z-** which is then immediately followed by a case marker (for the feminine counterparts of these nouns, see the section on Gender below).

5.	Citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	kani 'dog'	kan-z-í	kan-z-i 'the dog (M:ABS)'
	mani 'potter'	man-z-í	man-z-i 'the potter (M:ABS)'
	nayi/naʔi 'child'	naa-zz-í	naa-zz-i 'the boy'

The suffix **-(z)z-** in Maale is no more productively used to mark definiteness. However, remnant cases of it are found in different parts of the grammar. For instance, the third person pronouns ʔízi 'he(NOM)' and ʔízá 'she (NOM)' involve this morpheme (for details, see Chapter Four). It is also used in nominalized relative clauses and in possessive constructions, as illustrated below.

- 6a. haiss-ó keezz-á-z-éll-á lább-é-ne
 story-ABS tell-IPF:REL-DF-F-NOM be_tired-PF-A:DCL
 'The one (F) who is telling the story is tired'
- 6b. táání-ya taa-ra-zz-ó-na muk-é-ne
 1SG:NOM-INCL₁ 1SG:GEN-GEN:NOMZ-DF-ABS-INST come-PF-A:DCL
 'I too came with mine'
- 6c. néení pétte-z-ó pas-áʔʔo pétte-z-ó háʃʃi geʔ-é
 2SG:NOMone-DF-ABS criticize-CNV₂ one-DF-ABS IDEO say-2SG:IMP

'Having stated criticism about one (mistake) you should keep quiet about the other!'

In related Omoto languages such as Gamo, the suffix *-z-* marks definiteness in all singular and plural nouns (Cf. Hayward 1994, Hompó 1990).

The majority of singular nouns in Maale distinguish definite and indefinite forms through gemination of the final consonant and through the use of special case markers. Contrary to indefinite nouns (see example 3 above) which mark case through tone, in definite nouns (which are not marked for gender) Nominative and Absolutive case are marked by *-á* and *-ó* respectively. Compare the following forms:

7.	Citation Form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	sáza 'heart'	sázz-á	sázz-ó
	deefa 'medicine'	deeff-á	deeff-ó
	wúdi 'hut'	wúdd-á	wúdd-ó
	mafi 'work'	mádf-á	mádf-ó
	búni 'flower'	búnn-á	búnn-ó
	zóka 'bridge'	zókk-á	zókk-ó
	bó?o 'wild animal'	bó??-á	bó??-ó

Looking at the above forms one may argue that gemination is caused by the suffixation of the case markers *-á* and *-ó*. That is, perhaps one or more initial segment(s) of this suffix is lost and the gemination of the final consonant of the base form compensates for the loss. However, the gemination also occurs when there are other intervening suffixes, e.g. gender markers, between the noun root and *-á* or *-ó* (see below). It is also possible that the definiteness marker *-z(z)-*, described above, undergoes total assimilation to the preceding consonant. Thus, in this study, gemination is treated as an indicator of definiteness. (A related, but distinct function of gemination is discussed in section 3.4) There are a few exceptions to the gemination rule. These include, firstly, forms in which the citation form ends in a geminate consonant or in a cluster of consonants; no gemination takes place in the definite with such nouns.

8.	Citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	ḡúúlla 'egg'	ḡúúll-á	ḡúúll-ó 'the egg'
	márka 'witness'	márk-á	márk-ó 'the witness'
	pál?e 'bow'	pál?-á	pál?-ó 'the bow'

Secondly, if the final consonant in the citation form is a liquid, it is often not geminated in the definite as shown in (9).

9.	Citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	maari 'house'	máár-á	máár-ó 'the house'
	náári 'calf'	náár-á	náár-ó 'the calf'
	laali 'woman'	laal-á	laal-ó 'the woman'

The restriction on the gemination of liquids does not seem to have a phonological basis since geminate *l* and *r* do occur in the language, as can be seen from the following examples:

10.	Citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	fári 'acacia tree'	fárr-á	fárr-ó 'the acacia tree'
	kere 'neck stool'	kerr-á	kerr-ó 'the neck stools'
	díili 'flour'	díill-á	díill-ó 'the flour'

Thirdly, if the citation form noun ends in a sibilant consonant, the latter may be voiced or glottalized:

11.	citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	besi 'place'	bez-á	bez-ó 'the place'
	gofi 'farm'	goz-á	goz-ó 'the farm'
	mítsi 'tree'	mís'-á	mís'-ó 'the tree'
	kúcci 'hand'	kúc'-á	kúc'-ó 'the hand'

For a few still, both phonological alternation and gemination are required.

12.	Citation form	DF:NOM	DF:ABS
	géési 'speech'	géézz-á	géézz-ó 'the speech'
	fóófi 'snake'	fóó33-á	fóó33-ó 'the snake'

In plural nouns definiteness is marked uniformly, by suffixing the morpheme *-óntsi*. Consider the following:

13.	Citation form	DF:PL:NOM	DF:PL:ABS
	fóófi 'snake'	fóó33ó-ntsi	fóó33ó-ntsi 'the snakes'
	k'árró 'python'	k'árró-ntsi	k'árró-ntsi 'the pythons'
	waari 'goat'	wáárró-ntsi	wáárró-ntsi 'the goats'

For a discussion on the interaction of number and definiteness, see section 3.4 below.

3.3 Gender and case

Gender is overtly marked only in singular nouns. Two gender distinctions are observed: feminine and masculine. These are assigned to nouns based on semantic grounds. That is, animate nouns denoting females are marked with *-éll-*; those referring to males are affixed with *-atsi*. Normally, inanimates are not marked for

gender, but when this happens, it correlates with size and/or age. Thus, big and/or old are masculine whereas small and/or young are feminine (cf. section 3.6). However, inanimate nouns take case morphemes which co-occur with the feminine gender marker, and may consequently be regarded as feminine (for examples, see below).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| 14a. | ʔasi | 'person' | ʃoocci | 'guest' |
| | ʔas-atsi | 'the man (M:ABS)' | ʃooc'-atsi | 'the guest (M:ABS)' |
| | ʔas-atsí | 'the man (M:NOM)' | ʃooc'-atsí | 'the guest (M:NOM)' |
| | ʔas-éll-ó | 'the woman (F:ABS)' | ʃooc'-éll-ó | 'the guest (F:ABS)' |
| | ʔas-éll-á | 'the woman (F:NOM)' | ʃooc'-éll-á | 'the guest (F:NOM)' |
| 14b. | nayi/naʔi | 'child' | dársi | 'elephant' |
| | naʔʔ-atsi | 'the boy (M:ABS)' | dárz-átsi | 'the elephant (M:ABS)' |
| | naʔʔ-atsí | 'the boy (M:NOM)' | dárz-átsí | 'the elephant (M:NOM)' |
| | naʔʔ-éll-ó | 'the girl (F:ABS)' | dárz-éll-ó | 'the elephant (F:ABS)' |
| | naʔʔ-éll-á | 'the girl (F:NOM)' | dárz-éll-á | 'the elephant (F:NOM)' |

Notice that when the masculine gender marker *-atsi* is affixed to a word with low tone on all non-final vowels, the first vowel of this suffix gets a low tone; if it is affixed to a word that has high tone on a non-final vowel, it carries high tone. All nouns taking the gender suffixes *-éll-* and *-atsi* are definite. Feminine nouns take Nominative *-á* and Absolutive *-ó*. Masculine nouns are marked for the Nominative case by way of a high tone realized on the final vowel of the masculine gender marker. The Absolutive form of masculine nouns can be recognized by the low tone on the final vowel of the gender suffix. The marking of case through tone alternation in masculine nouns looks parallel to case marking attested in indefinite nouns (see above). However, it is possible to propose an alternative analysis of case in masculine nouns: as Nominative *-í* and Absolutive *-i*. According to this second analysis, the masculine gender marker is not *-atsi* but *-ats-*. The latter analysis gets support from case marking in pronouns in which third person masculine and first and second person pronouns are marked for Nominative case by the suffix *-í*. The difference resulting from the choice of one or the other analysis concerns emphasis attached to the formal and semantic similarities shared between indefinite and definite nouns on the one hand and the morphological similarities shared between definite nouns and pronouns on the other hand. As will be shown in Chapter Four, morphologically, pronouns behave in a similar way as definite nouns. Both approaches are plausible, showing that in the speakers' processing *-atsi* may be recognized as consisting of two elements, i.e., of the morphemes *-ats-* and (low tone) *-i*, marking masculine gender and Absolutive case respectively. Or *-atsi* may be analysed as a single unit marking masculine gender and a low tone on its final vowel as a separate morpheme indicating the Absolutive case, and a high tone on the same vowel as indicator of the Nominative case. (Such alternative synchronic

interpretations are often the bases for language change, cf. Ohala 1989.) We adopt the first analysis, which treats core case marking in indefinite nouns and definite masculine nouns as being identical.

There are some nouns which may optionally omit the feminine gender marker but still unambiguously refer to a definite feminine person or animal.

15.	Citation form	DF:F:NOM	DF:F:ABS
	kani 'dog'	kan-á	kan-ó (or NOM/ABS: kan-éll-á/ó)
	mani 'potter'	man-á	man-ó (or NOM/ABS: man-éll-á/ó)
	nayi 'child'	na-á	na-ó (or NOM/ABS: na??-éll-á/ó)

The masculine counterparts of the nouns in (15) must occur either with the definite marker **-z-** (as shown in 3.2. above) or with the masculine gender marker **-atsi**.

16.	Citation form	DF:M:NOM	DF:M:ABS
	kani 'dog'	kan-z-i	kan-z-i (or DF:ABS: kan-atsi ; * kan-i)
	mani 'potter'	man-z-i	man-z-i (or DF:ABS: man-atsi ; * man-i)
	nayi 'child'	naa-zz-i	naa-zz-i (or DF:ABS: na??-atsi ; * nay-i)

It seems that the forms ***kan-i**, ***man-i**, etc. in (15-16) are unacceptable as definite forms because if they were, the distinction between citation form/indefinite nouns and definite nouns would be lost. In these examples, masculine and feminine gender is distinguished through the case suffixes. For example, in the words **kanó** 'the dog (F:ABS)' and **manó** 'the potter (F:ABS)', feminine gender is not morphologically marked but the words refer only to a female dog and a female potter respectively. Here gender is identified through the Absolutive case marker **-ó** which occurs with the feminine gender marker **-éll-**. As shown in section 3.2 above, when a noun is not morphologically specified for gender, the default case markers are those that co-occur with the feminine gender marker, i.e. **-á** for the Nominative and **-ó** for the Absolutive. For this reason, the feminine gender in Maale is considered here as the default gender. There are two other pieces of evidence which support this claim.

a) The Vocative case is marked with **-é** in the feminine and **-o** in the masculine. This is illustrated for **nayi** 'child' below.

- 17a. **ta na??-atsi-yó** 'my child (M)!'
1SG:GEN child-M-VOC:M
- 17b. **ta na??-éll-é** 'my child (F)!'
1SG:GEN child-F-VOC:F

(Notice that in 17a, the **y** before the vocative suffix is epenthetic.) However, in nouns which are lexically distinct for gender, **-é**, which otherwise marks feminine vocative forms, is used either with masculine or feminine forms:

18. **ʔind-é** 'mother!' (cf. **ʔindó** 'mother(ABS)')
ʔád-é 'father!' (cf. **ʔáde** 'father (ABS)')
míf-é 'sister!' (cf. **mífó** 'sister (ABS)')
ʔíf-é 'brother!' (cf. **ʔífó** 'brother (ABS)')

b) The term denoting a female animate noun is used as a generic or collective term. For instance, unlike **ziya** 'bull' and **gémáyi** 'ox' which are more specific, the word **bayi** 'cow' refers also to 'cattle'. To avoid ambiguity between the generic and the specific use, **bayi ʔindó** 'cow (lit. cattle mother)' may be used to refer to 'cow'. Similarly, in the naming of some wild animals, the term used to refer to the species (i.e., the generic/collective term) and that used to refer to the female of these species are identical in form. The following are examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 19. | mírda | 'bongo' | dok'óssi | 'waterbuck' |
| | mírda (ʔindó) | 'female bongo' | dok'óssi (ʔindó) | 'female waterbuck' |
| | geebo | 'male bongo' | borokki | 'male waterbuck' |
| | forókki | 'oryx' | zóbbi | 'lion' |
| | forókki (ʔindó) | 'female oryx' | zóbbi (ʔindó) | 'lioness' |
| | kese | 'male oryx' | máito | 'male lion' |
| | rótto | 'eland' | | |
| | rótto (ʔindó) | 'female eland' | | |
| | káite | 'male eland' | | |

For some animate nouns, sex distinction is expressed lexically. Some of these have a distinct generic term.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 20a. | wudúró | 'young (unmarried) girl' | márró | 'female calf' |
| | fofori | 'young (unmarried) boy' | nááro | 'male calf' |
| | gapiri | 'bushbuck' | meenni | 'buffalo' |
| | galsó | 'female bushbuck' | bádi | 'female buffalo' |
| | dúkulli | 'male bushbuck' | haafa | 'male buffalo' |
| | maaki | 'leopard' | gudúntsi | 'pig' |
| | sokolli | 'female leopard' | leebbó | 'female pig' |
| | dúri | 'male leopard' | baakale | 'male pig' |

Furthermore, the same system of using the feminine gender as a default gender marker is attested in an east Omoto language, Zayse (cf. Hayward 1989). This is in contrast to what is observed in other Ethiopian languages, including many Omotic, Semitic and Cushitic languages, in which the masculine gender is used as default.

In Maale pronouns and demonstratives, gender is marked differently from that described for nouns in this section. For gender marking in pronouns see Chapter Four; demonstratives are discussed in Chapter Six.

3.4 Number and case

Except for a few irregular ones, there are three ways of distinguishing indefinite plural nouns in Maale:

- (a) by geminating the last consonant of the singular noun.
- (b) by suffixing **-atsi**
- (c) by suffixing **-att-**

The morpheme **-att-** has a free variant form **-at-**. The same speaker may use any one of the two forms in an identical context. Thus, **naattó** 'children' or **naató**; **bolattó** 'brothers-in-law' or **bolató**; **géézzattó** 'younger brothers' or **géézzató** may be used.

It should be mentioned from the start that two of the above ways of forming indefinite plural nouns, i.e. (a) and (b), are identical to some definite singular nouns (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3 above). The question whether lack of formal differentiation between indefinite plural nouns and definite singular nouns corresponds to lack of semantic differentiation or not will be discussed below. Before we elaborate upon this issue, each of the indefinite plural types are described.

◆ Plural marking with Gemination:

The majority of nouns in Maale form their indefinite plural by the gemination of the last consonant of the singular noun. Such indefinite plural forms are marked for the Nominative case by **-á** and for the Absolutive by **-ó**. The following are examples:

21.	Citation form	IDF:PL:NOM	IDF:PL:ABS
	wúdi 'hut'	wúdd-á	wúdd-ó 'huts'
	zóka 'bridge'	zókk-á	zókk-ó 'bridges'
	bózo 'wild animal'	bó??-á	bó??-ó 'wild animals'

The above indefinite plural nouns are identical to definite singular nouns discussed in section 3.2. The morphophonological alternations and restrictions to the gemination rule which were observed in section 3.2 apply in the formation of indefinite plurals as well. Thus, citation forms ending in geminate consonants or consonant clusters are not geminated. Likewise, with few exceptions, nouns ending in **l** or **r** are not geminated. Citation form nouns ending in sibilant consonants are often not geminated, but are voiced or changed into their corresponding ejective counterparts.

◆ Plural marking with the suffixation of **-atsi**:

The indefinite plural marker **-atsi** is formally identical to the masculine gender marker which, as shown in section 3.3, is only realized when the noun is definite. In both cases, the first vowel of **-atsi** copies a (non-final) high tone from the citation form. If the citation form has low tone on all non-final vowels, the first vowel of **-atsi** gets low tone; and if any of the non-final vowels of the citation form has high tone,

the first vowel of **-atsi** gets high tone. Compare examples (22a) and (22b) below. In these examples, the forms in the second column represent the indefinite plural in the Absolutive case. The Nominative is distinguished from this by assigning high tone on the final vowel of the word.

22a.	Citation form	IDF:PL:ABS
	moddó 'lizard'	modd-atsi 'lizards'
	paró 'horse'	par-atsi 'horses'
	piró 'trap'	pir-atsi 'traps'
	metó 'problem/ accident'	met-atsi 'problems'
	waló 'garden clearing instrument'	wal-atsi 'clearing instruments'
	botó 'pumpkin'	bot-atsi 'pumpkins'
	sayó 'divorced woman'	say-atsi 'divorced women'
	pank'ó 'frog'	pank'-atsi 'frogs'
	piis'ó 'comb'	piis'-atsi 'combs'
22b.	móló 'fish'	mól-átsi 'fishes'
	márró 'female calf'	márr-átsi 'calves'
	wudúró 'young girl'	wudúr-átsi 'young girls'
	gúrgúro 'crocodile'	gúrgúr-átsi 'crocodiles'
	túko 'coffee plant'	túk-átsi 'coffee plants'

As can be seen from the above list, the indefinite plural nouns formed using the suffix **-atsi** have a corresponding citation form noun which ends in **-ó** or **-o**. In our data there are only two words which do not end in **-o** or **-ó**, but which nevertheless do take the plural marker **-atsi**. These are the following singular nouns ending in (low-tone) **e** and **a** respectively.

23.	záye 'horn'	záyátsi 'horns'
	ǂóla 'bird (species)'	ǂólátsi 'birds (species)'

◆ Plural marking with **-at(t)-**:

Nouns which take the plural morpheme **-at(t)-** are few in number. They include words which refer to close kin and pets, and one (pejorative) term **mani** 'potter'. However, not all nouns referring to close kin or pet animals take **-at(t)-** in the plural. It is possible that originally, the suffix **-at(t)-** interacted with gender since six of the eleven words in (24) designate male referents while the rest are generic. The following is a complete list of words in our data taking the plural marker **-at(t)-**. The Nominative counterpart of the indefinite plural Absolutive nouns in (24) is distinguished by replacing **-ó** with **-á**.

24.	Citation form	IDF:PL:ABS
	nayi 'child'	na-att-ó 'children'
	baisi 'son-in-law'	bais-att-ó 'son-in-laws'

boli	'brother-in-law'	bol-att-ó	'brothers-in-law'
géézzi	'younger brother'	géézz-att-ó	'younger brothers'
ʔeezzime	'sister's son'	ʔeezzim-att-ó	'sister's sons'
mani	'potter'	man-att-ó	'potters'
kani	'dog'	kan-att-ó	'dogs'
bayi	'cow/cattle'	ba-att-ó	'cattle'
gemayi	'ox'	gem-att-ó	'oxen'
kolayi	'he-goat'	kol-att-ó	'he-goats'
marayi	'sheep'	mar-att-ó	'sheep'

As can be seen from the above list, almost all nouns which take the plural marker **-at(t)-** end in **-i** in the singular. However, it seems that this final vowel does not represent the true noun class of this group. This is because one of the words in (24), i.e., **gemayi** 'ox' has an alternative citation form **geme**, thus ending in **e**. It is possible that, historically, the words listed in (24) represented a morphologically complex form.

♦ Irregular Plurals:

There are a few plural forms which do not follow the pattern described above.

25.	Citation form	IDF:PL:NOM	IDF:PL:ABS
	ʔasi 'person'	ʔas-á	ʔasó 'people'
	ʃíízi 'excrement'	ʃííʔ-á	ʃííʔó 'heaps of excrement'
	ʃááʃi 'lash (hitting)'	ʃaʒ-á	ʃaʒó 'lashes'
	ʃúcci 'stone'	ʃúw-á	ʃúwó 'stones' (also: ʃúc'ó)
	baazzi 'thing'	bakk-á	bakkó 'things'
	múúzzi 'food'	múʔʔ-á	múʔʔó 'diff. kinds of food'
	béélli 'bond friend'	beelamm-á	beelammó 'bond friends'
	dambayi 'tobacco'	dambaʔʔá	dambaʔʔó '(rolls of) tobacco'

Looking at some of the examples in this section one may wonder about the semantics of plural marking. In Maale plural marking does not necessarily coincide with countability. Almost all nouns can be "pluralized". In some cases these are claimed to be countable on the basis of measurements. For example, **waas'ó** originating from **waatsi** 'water' can be used to refer to water kept in different containers or several small springs. Similarly, the plural noun **díílló** from **díili** 'flour' may refer to 'different kinds of flour' or 'flour kept in different containers'.

Plural marking demonstrated above involves indefinite nouns. When definite, the morphology of the above words can be altered.

Definite plural nouns are marked by **-ntsi** in the Absolutive case and by **-ntsi** in the Nominative. The three indefinite plural types discussed in section 3.4 above behave differently when combined with the definite plural marker **-ntsi**. That is, in the definite, the plural marker **-atsi** is substituted with the definite plural marker

-ntsi. As can be seen from the following examples, in this case, the citation form final vowel is not omitted:

26.	Citation form	IDF:PL:ABS	DF:PL:ABS
	paró 'horse'	par-atsi	paró-ntsi
	móló 'fish'	mól-átsi	móló-ntsi
	sayó 'divorced woman'	say-atsi	sayó-ntsi
	wudúró 'unmarried girl'	wudúr-átsi	wudúró-ntsi

In contrast to plurals with **-atsi**, in plurals formed with the suffixation of **-at(t)-** and the gemination of the final consonant, the definite plural marker **-ntsi** is added to the indefinite plural form (not to the citation form as was the case in indefinite plurals with **-atsi**). In other chapters, this double marking is not indicated in the morpheme-by-morpheme translation in this study. Examples (27) and (28) below illustrate this.

27.	Citation form	IDF:PL:ABS	DF:PL:ABS
	naʔi 'child'	na-att-ó 'children'	naattó-ntsi 'the children'
	kani 'dog'	kan-att-ó 'dogs'	kanattó-ntsi 'the dogs'
	marayi 'sheep'	mar-att-ó 'sheep'	marattó-ntsi 'the sheep'
28.	Citation form	IDF:PL:ABS	DF:PL:ABS
	zóka 'bridge'	zókkó 'bridges'	zókkó-ntsi 'the bridges'
	bóʔo 'wild animal'	bóʔʔó 'wild animals'	bóʔʔó-ntsi 'the w. animals'
	wúdi 'hut'	wúddó 'huts'	wúddó-ntsi 'the huts'

The following are illustrative sentences:

- 29a. **laaló-ntsi** **baató-ntsi** **dʔants-á-ne**
 woman:PL:DF:NOM cow:PL:DF:ABS milk-IPF-A:DCL
 'The women milk the cows'
- 29b. **baató-ntsi** **maati** **múʔ-á-ne**
 cow:PL:DF:NOM grass:ABS eat-IPF-A:DCL
 'The cows eat grass'
- 29c. **fooc'ó-ntsi** **ʔádó-ná** **wolla** **múʔ-é-ne**
 guest:PL:DF:NOM father:ABS-INST together eat-PF-A:DCL
 'The guests ate with the owner of the house'

Most of the nouns referring to close kin do not have indefinite plural forms. In such cases only the citation form and the definite plural forms are distinguished:

30.	Citation form	DF:PL
	ʔáde 'father'	ʔádó-ntsi '(the) fathers'
	ʔindó 'mother'	ʔindó-ntsi '(the) mothers'
	ʔábbó 'maternal uncle'	ʔábbó-ntsi '(the) maternal uncles'

mífó	'older sister'	mífó-ntsi	'(the) elder sisters'
géédo	'younger sister'	géédó-ntsi	'(the) younger sisters'
?anni	'husband'	?anni-ntsi	'(the) husbands'

Those that have both indefinite and definite plural forms include the following. Note that, in this group, the definite plural is formed on the basis of the citation form.

31.	Citation form	IDF:PL	DF:PL
	géézzi	'younger brother'	géézz-att-ó géézzi-ntsi
	baisi	'father-in-law'	bais-att-ó baisi-ntsi
	bóli	'brother-in-law'	bol-att-ó bóli-ntsi
	?eezzíme	'sister's son'	?eezzim-at-ó ?eezzimi-ntsi

In examples (21-24) above, the three indefinite plural forms of Maale have been demonstrated. Those formed with the gemination of the final consonant of the citation form, those formed with the suffixation of **-atsi**, and those formed with **-at(t)-**. We also mentioned that the first two of these are formally identical to definite singular nouns. The formal similarity between singular definite forms and plural indefinite ones creates ambiguity, as can be seen from the following examples:

32a.	dárz-á	mís'-ó	ments-á-ne
	elephant:DF-NOM	tree:DF-ABS	break-IPF-A:DCL
	'The elephant breaks/is breaking the tree'		

32a.	dárz-á	mís'-ó	ments-á-ne
	elephant:IDF:PL-NOM	tree:IDF:PL-ABS	break-IPF-A:DCL
	'Elephants break/are breaking trees'		

This raises the following questions: Does the exact formal identity between some definite singular nouns and indefinite plurals in Maale underlie lack of a meaning distinction between these two forms? That is, is it plausible to suggest that in Maale indefinite plural is distinguished only in the case of those nouns which take the indefinite plural marker **-at(t)-** and not in others (i.e., those nouns marked with gemination and with the suffix **-atsi** taken as only definite singular forms)? If not, how does the language resolve the ambiguity? Finally, is this ambiguity a case of homonymy or polysemy?

There are enough indications that, regardless of the formal identity, speakers treat the definite singular and indefinite plural as distinct forms. Depending on the context, one or the other reading may be judged unacceptable. For example, once, a passer by called out from a distance to greet the present author and two research assistants. The latter responded to the greeting and subsequently asked the passer by where he was coming from (as it is customary to ask such questions). When he responded with the utterance in (33) below, the two assistances exchanged a smile.

33. **wáár-ó** **kess-í** **má?-á-ne**
 goat:PL-ABS take out-CNV₁ return-IPF-A:DCL
 '(I am) returning (home) after having taken out (my) goats for grazing'
 ? '(I am) returning (home) after having taken out the goat for grazing'

They later explained that this person is boasting. That is, by using the indefinite plural form which indicates a large number of entities, he emphasized his wealth. His speech was understood as stating "too many goats to be known individually by neighbours or too many goats to count". Note that, in this context, the definite singular reading of (33) was judged strange. According to my assistants, the speaker, in the above context, should have instead used the expression in (34).

34. **wááró-ntsi** **kess-í** **má?-á-ne**
 goat-PL:DF:ABS take out-CNV₁ return-IPF-A:DCL
 '(I am) returning (home) after having taken out the goats for grazing'

In texts, various means are used to keep the two readings distinct: The plural forms are often accompanied by reduplicated verbs (which in Maale expresses distributive or repetitive actions). For example, out of context, **dorbatsi** may be used to refer to a single definite (M) drummer and singer in a mourning ritual or a number of drummers and singers in the same ritual. In (35), however, only the plural reading is possible, as the reciprocal form and the reduplicated verb indicate.

35. **dorb-atsí** **fo?-ínt-í** **fo?-ínt-í** **mukk-á-ne**
 drum-PL:IDF:NOM hit-RECP-CNV₁ hit-RECP-CNV₁ come-IPF-A:DCL
 'The drummers come singing and beating the drum to each other's rhythm'

The use of modifiers such as demonstratives and numerals may vary according to the singular or plural reading. Consider the following examples with numerals.

- 36a. **pétte waarí** **?á-á-ne**
 one goat:NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There is one goat'
- 36b. **lam?ó wáár-á** **?á-á-ne**
 two goat:PL-NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There are two goats'
- 36c. **lam?ó wááró-ntsi** **?á-á-ne**
 two goat:PL:DF:NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There are the two goats'

However, citation form nouns may also be combined with numerals 'two' and above, as in (37).

37. **lamʔó waarí ʔá-á-ne**
 two goat:NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There are two goats'

The same is true with quantifiers. Note, in the following examples, the formal variation of the quantifier in agreement with the plural noun. (For more examples, see Chapter Six)

- 38a. **díbi nayí muk-é-ne**
 many child:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'many children came'
- 38b. **díbbó na-att-á muk-é-ne**
 many:AGR child-PL-NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'many children came'

When the intended meaning is plural, plural demonstratives are used; when it is singular, singular demonstratives are used:

- 39a. **hayí zóbbi-ke** 'This is a lion'
 this:M:NOM lion-BE:A:DCL
- 39b. **hayí zóbb-ó-ke** 'This is the lion'
 this:M:NOM lion:DF-ABS-BE:A:DCL
- 39c. **háátá zóbb-ó-ke** 'These are lions'
 these:NOM lion-ABS-BE:A:DCL
- 39d. **háátá zóbbó-ntsi-ke** 'These are the lions'
 these:NOM lion-DF:PL:ABS-BE:A:DCL

Furthermore, with regard to indefinite plurals formed by *-atsi*, the fact that some of the plural nouns in this group are feminine, excludes the definite masculine reading:

40. **say-atsí ʔanní-na ʔá-á laal-ó**
 divorced w.-:PL:NOM husband:ABS-INST exist-IPF:REL woman:PL-ABS
naʃk-uwá-se
 like-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Divorced women do not like married women'
 * 'The divorced woman (M) does not like the married woman'

Most importantly, the fact that these grammatical categories *are* distinguished in some forms makes it highly unlikely that the formally identical definite singular and indefinite plural nouns lack semantic distinction. For example, some nouns do not allow the formal similarity in definite singular and indefinite plural. One such noun is *ʔasi* 'person'. As can be seen from the following list, each gender and number is distinguished. (All nouns in the list are in the Absolutive case form.)

41. ʔasi 'person'
 ʔas-atsi 'the man' (Often reduced to: ʔatsi 'the man')
 ʔas-éll-ó 'the woman'
 ʔas-ó 'people'
 ʔasó-ntsi 'the people'

ʔas-ó in the above list cannot be interpreted as a definite singular noun, i.e., it cannot mean 'the man' or 'the woman'. Consider the following examples:

- 42a. ʔas-á yeeppi yeekk-í péék'k'-á-ne
 person:PL-NOM tears cry-CNV₁ spend the day-IPF-A:DCL
 'People spend the day mourning'
- 42b. ʔas-ó déʔ-its-í ʔála ʔagg-á-ne
 person:PL-ABS sit-CAUS-CNV₁ beer:ABS add-IPF-A:DCL
 'Making people sit, (the host) gives (them) beer'

Based on data mentioned above, we analyse definite singular nouns formed by gemination and indefinite plural nouns formed by the same process, as semantically distinct. Similarly, indefinite plurals with *-atsi* and definite masculine singular with *-atsi* are semantically distinct. This means that in this language two diametrically opposed values for definiteness and number are rendered formally identical, i.e., one is definite and the other is indefinite; one is singular, the other is plural. Concerning the question whether the formal similarity between the definite singular forms and the indefinite plural involves homonymy or polysemy, one may suggest the latter because the forms in question belong to the nominal category (cf. Lyons 1968 who uses relatedness of syntactic function as one of the diagnostic means for the homonymy and polysemy distinction). However, this question may not have direct relevance to the forms in question. Formal similarity in different paradigms can be accounted for as a systematic reduction in the morphological differentiation of these paradigms. This is also known as *polarity*. The explanation given for polarity or reduction of morphological forms, is economy of inflection (cf. Corbett 1991, Plank 1991). Thus, identity between masculine gender and some of the plural forms, and a similar formal identity between definite singular (gender-neutral) nouns and indefinite plurals described above is not an accidental similarity. It is a systematic reduction in the morphological differentiation of each gender, number, and case distinction. Section 3.5 provides further evidence on the systematic correspondence between number and gender.

The Maale data may help to understand the different systems of number marking among Omoto languages. There are three patterns of number marking in Omoto languages:

- ♦ Indefinite and definite plurals are distinguished, as in the South Omoto language Maale.

- ◆ There is more than one way of marking the indefinite plural but there is no separate form for the definite plural, e.g. East Ometo languages. Hayward (1990) shows that in Zayse there are two plural formatives: *-ir* and *-aats*. The latter suffix, which is restricted to terms denoting nuclear kin and considered archaic by Hayward, seems to be cognate with the Maale *-atsi* which marks both indefinite plural and definite masculine. In Koorete, there is a cognate plural marker *-atse*, which is also distributionally restricted (cf. Hayward 1982). However, it seems that (synchronically) there is no interaction between number and gender marking in these languages.
- ◆ All plurals are definite, as in the West and North Ometo languages. Languages in these two sub groups of Ometo converged number and definiteness into one form. It is very likely that the system in Maale is more archaic, preserving the distinction which is lost in the other Ometo groups.

3.5 Case

In our analysis case marking morphemes of Maale are divided into two hierarchical levels or strata. In the first level we have, what is called here "core case", which includes the Nominative and Absolutive cases. In the second level we have "peripheral" cases comprising "Genitive", "Dative", "Instrumental", "Locative", "Ablative" and "Vocative". The terms "core" and "peripheral" in this context are adopted from Blake (1994). The latter label corresponds to those case types that are sometimes referred to as "semantic cases". Generally, peripheral case markers are preceded by one of the core cases, namely, the Absolutive case which belongs to level one. The fact that peripheral cases need to follow the Absolutive case justifies the division of the case types into two strata. Plank (1995:53) reports a similar situation in Oromo, a Cushitic language:

In Oromo there is interdependent case marking: a dative or other post-genitival case on the secondary implies absolutive on the primary, and nominative on the primary implies no further post-genitival case on the secondary.

Furthermore, core case markers in Maale interact with other nominal categories such as number, definiteness and gender, whereas peripheral cases, with the exception of the Vocative, are not affected by the latter categories. Although it involves number and gender distinctions, the Vocative is grouped among peripheral cases for syntactic and semantic reasons.

3.5.1 *Core case*

There are two main ways of marking core case in Maale. The first type involves suffixing the morphemes -ó for the Absolutive and -á for the Nominative. The second way of marking core case involves tone. That is, low tone on the final vowel of the noun designates the Absolutive whereas high tone indicates the Nominative. The choice of one of these two ways of marking case correlates with definiteness, gender and number inflection of the noun. In this section we present a summary of the interaction between definiteness, gender, number and these two core cases.

All indefinite singular nouns (which are identical to citation form nouns), nouns affixed with the masculine gender marker -atsi, indefinite plural nouns marked with -atsi, and definite plural nouns marked with -ntsi distinguish Nominative and Absolutive cases by high and low tone respectively. The following examples illustrate this:

- 43a. zóbbí dársi baj'-uwá-se
 lion:NOM elephant:ABS surpass-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'A lion cannot intimidate an elephant'
 (lit. 'A lion does not surpass an elephant')
- 43b. naʔʔ-atsí wál-átsi baizz-é-ne
 child-M:NOM axe-M:ABS lose-PF-A:DCL
 'The boy lost the axe'
- 43c. wudúr-átsí muk-é-ne
 young girl-PL:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'Young girls came'
- 43d. dárzó-ntsi mís'ó-ntsi ments-é-ne
 elephant:PL-DF:PL:NOM tree:PL-DF:PL:ABS break-PF-A:DCL
 'The elephants broke the trees'

In addition to the above forms, those definite singular nouns which occur with the (synchronically non-productive) definiteness marker -z- distinguish case by tone, as the contrast in *kanzi* 'the dog (ABS)' and *kanzí* 'the dog (NOM)' shows.

On the other hand, in definite singular nouns marked by final consonant alternation or gemination, in feminine nouns marked by -éll-, in indefinite plurals formed by gemination, and in indefinite plurals formed by suffixing -at(t)-, Nominative case is marked by -á and the Absolutive case is marked by -ó. Each of these is illustrated below:

- 44a. dárz-á mís'-ó ments-é-ne
 elephant-NOM tree-ABS break-PF-A:DCL
 'The elephant broke the tree/elephants broke trees'

- 44b. **laal-éll-á** **bay-éll-ó** **ǰants-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM cow-F-ABS milk-IPF-A:DCL
 'The woman is milking the cow'
- 44c. **na-att-á** **bayi** **yenk'-á-ne**
 child-PL-NOM cattle:ABS herd-IPF-A:DCL
 'Children herd cattle'
- 44d. **ʔizi** **na-att-ó** **naʔk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM child-PL-ABS like-IPF-A:DCL
 'He likes children'

The above examples show that case marking in Maale involves gender-number syncretism or polarity. In some Afroasiatic languages, particularly in the Cushitic sub-family, a similar gender and number interaction exists, as discussed in detail in Corbett (1991). As Rijkhoff (1992: 57) puts it, there seems to be areal dissemination involved: languages exhibiting polarity features are concentrated in the East African region, namely, in Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya. That case marking in plural nouns in Maale, is split into two can be seen from the following representation.

Table 3.2 Absolutive and Nominative case marking in Maale

			ABS: ...	NOM: Hi	ABS: -ó	NOM: -á
SG	IDF	—	ʔasi 'person' mítsi 'tree' kani 'dog' wudúró 'girl'	ʔasí mítsí kaní wudúró		
SG	DF	—			mís'-ó wudúr-ó	mís'-á wudúr-á
SG	DF	MASC	ʔas-atsi kan-atsi, (kanzi)	ʔas-atsí kan-atsí, kanzí)		
SG	DF	FEM			ʔas-éll-ó kan-éll-ó, (kan-ó	ʔas-éll-á kan-éll-á, kan-á)
PL	IDF	—	wudúr-átsi	wudúr-átsí	ʔas-ó mís'ó kan-at(t)-ó	ʔas-á mís'á kan-at(t)-á
PL	DF	—	wudúr-ó-ntsi kan-at(t)-ó-ntsi	ʔas-ó-ntsí wudúr-ó-ntsí kan-at(t)-ó-ntsí		

Table 3.2 shows that some plural nouns take the same case markers as feminine nouns while other plural nouns take the same case suffixes as masculine nouns.

3.5.2 *Peripheral case*

The term 'peripheral case' is used here as a cover term to refer to morphemes marking the "Dative", "Instrumental", "Locative" etc. Except in some occurrences of the Locative, the other peripheral cases are preceded by the Absolutive marker -ó.

3.5.2.1 *The Dative*

The Dative is marked by the morpheme -m. It is affixed to nouns in the Absolutive case. The following examples illustrate the marking of the Dative case in indefinite singular nouns (i.e., the form identical to the citation form).

45.	Citation form		Dative
	ʔanni	'husband'	ʔanní-m 'for a husband'
	doolle	'pigeon'	doollé-m 'for a pigeon'
	paró	'horse'	paró-m 'for a horse'
	márka	'witness'	márka-m 'for a witness'

The above examples show that there is tonal alternation between the citation form and the Dative form. In Maale, if a monosegmental, consonantal suffix such as -m or a (multi)syllabic suffix with low tone is attached to a word that has low-tone in all syllables, high tone is added to the final vowel of the base form, as can be seen from the form of the first three nouns in the above list. We mentioned earlier that the Dative case is added to the Absolutive form of a noun. Since Nominative and Absolutive case distinction in indefinite nouns is marked with high and low tone respectively, high tone before peripheral case markers in indefinite nouns can be mistaken to be an exponent of the Nominative case marker. However, it is clear that the high tone before peripheral case markers in indefinite nouns is not that of the Nominative case; it is a realization of a general tone insertion rule in the language which affects noun phrases (which also occurs with Ablative -ppa and Instrumental -na), and predicative constructions (cf. Chapter Two). In general, in this language, morphologically complex forms tend to avoid sequences of low tones throughout the word.

In definite nouns, as in the indefinite nouns shown above, the Dative marker is preceded by the Absolutive case marker. Consider the following examples:

46a.	ʔííní	ʔád-ó-m	maʔ-é	baazzi	keezz-é-ne
	3MS:NOM	father-ABS-DAT	happen-REL.PF	thing:ABS	tell-PF-A:DCL
	'He told something to his father'				

- 46b. **ʒííní** **ʒooc'-atsí-m** **goys'-ó** **ɖaww-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM guest-M:ABS-DAT road-ABS show-PF-A:DCL
 'He showed the road to the guest'

- 46c. **ʒííní** **ʒaʃk-ó** **ʒas-ó-m** **pák'-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM meat-ABS people-ABS-DAT divide-PF-A:DCL
 'He divided the meat among the people'

The Dative may occur with transitive verbs lacking an overtly expressed direct object. Often the Dative occurs as the only overt complement when the direct object is a cognate object or when the latter can be understood from the context and may thus be dropped.

- 47a. **ʒííní** **suuggatsí-m** **máh-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM chief:ABS-DAT answer-PF-A:DCL
 'He answered the chief'
 (cf. with **máhó** 'answer': **ʒííní suuggatsí-m máhó máh-é-ne** 'He answered the chief')

- 47b. **ʒííní** **máɖɖó** **ʒas-ó-m** **c'igg-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM work:ABS people-ABS-DAT pay-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is paying the workers'
 (also with **miɿʃfe** 'money': **ʒííní máɖɖó ʒasó-m miɿʃfe c'igg-á-ne** 'He is paying money to the workers')

As the above examples illustrate, the Dative marker **-m** occurs word-finally. However, there is one suffix which occurs after the Dative marker: the Inclusive marker **-a**. In this case, the Dative is realized as **-mm**. Apart from this case there are no other instances where the Dative occurs geminated.

- 48a. **ʒatsí-mm-a** **ʒíintsí** **keezz-á**
 person:M:ABS-DAT-INCL₁ 2PL:NOM tell-IPF:Q
 'Do you (polite) tell to the man too?'

- 48b. **god-att-ó-mm-a** **hail-itsí-na** **kaatt-ó-mm-a**
 chief-PL-ABS-DAT-INCL₁ work for-INF-INST king:DF-ABS-DAT-INCL₁
hail-itsí-na **nang-é-ne**
 work for-INF-INST live-PF-A:DCL
 '(poor farmers) lived by working for the chiefs and the king too'

- 48c. **táá-mm-a** **keezz-é**
 1SG-DAT-INCL₁ tell-2SG:IMP
 'Tell to me too!'

The question is whether the Dative is basically **-mm-** and changes to **-m-** when it occurs word-finally, or whether the inclusive marker generally causes the gemination of word final consonants. Except for the Dative forms illustrated in examples (45-47), in Maale all nouns and noun phrases end in a vowel. Thus, whether the inclusive causes gemination of all word-final consonants can not be tested. However, there is one reason to assume that the gemination is caused by the inclusive marker. That is, there is another inclusive marker **-ntsa** which mainly occurs with proper names and pronouns and marginally with simple nouns, but not with nouns marked with the Dative or other peripheral cases. There is a slight meaning difference between the two types of the inclusive: when **-ntsa** is used, the reference is not restricted to the entity denoted by the noun; it can refer to other participants not mentioned, as illustrated below.

- 49a. **ʔasapa-ntsa woka d-a-y**
 Aseffa-INCL₂ where BE-IPF-Q
 'Where are Aseffa and the other(s)?'

- 49b. **ʔádé ʔízá-ntsa ʔízó-ntsa gorr-é-ne**
 father:NOM 3MS:ABS-INCL₂ 3FS:ABS-INCL₂ insult-PF-A:DCL
 'Father was angry at him, at her (and others unspecified)'

Notice that **-ntsa** differs from the Conjunctive/Instrumental marker **-na**. In (49b) if **-na** is used instead of **-ntsa**, as in **ʔádé ʔízá-na ʔízó-na gorr-é-ne** this expresses only that 'Father was angry with him AND her' without implying that other people were involved.

It seems that the inclusive marker **-a** is a shortened variant of **-ntsa** which compensates for the missing initial part (i.e., **-nts**) by geminating a preceding consonant, in this case, the Dative marker **-m**

Positionally, the Dative might occur immediately before the verb, or other categories may intervene between the Dative complement noun and the verb.

50. **harg-é ʔasí-m láhitsi k'ára-ke**
 sick- PF:REL person-DAT to lie down good-BE:A:DCL
 'Lying (down) is good for a sick person'

Semantically, the Dative in Maale mainly (but not exclusively) expresses a benefactive meaning.

- 51a. **ʔóó-m néení kats-á-y**
 who-DAT 2SG:NOM cook-IPF-Q
 'For whom are you cooking?'

- 51b. **ʔanní-m tá kats-á-ne**
 husband-DAT 1SG:NOM cook-IPF-A:DCL
 'I am cooking for (my) husband'

However, there are some examples where the benefactive meaning does not seem to be associated with the noun affixed with the Dative case.

- 52a. **ʔízá mízáḅḅi ʔasí-m lóʔ-é-ne**
 3FS:NOM beautiful person-DAT marry-PF-A:DCL
 'She married a handsome boy'
- 52b. **gúbbe ʔaf'kí muuzzí-m k'ára-ke**
 all meat food-DAT good-BE:A:DCL
 'All meat is good to eat'
- 52c. **ʔííní ʔafill-ó-m wááʔʔi miijfe c'igg-é-y**
 3MS:NOM cloth-ABS-DAT how much money:ABS pay-PF-Q
 'How much did he pay for the cloth'

In some fixed expressions, the noun with the Dative case is interpreted as an affected entity or beneficiary which lacks control over the situation expressed.

- 53a. **ʔízá-m giig-é-ne**
 3MS:ABS-DAT agree-PF-A:DCL
 'He succeeded' (i.e., 'It agreed to him')
- 53b. **ʔízá-m gel-é-ne**
 3MS:ABS-DAT enter-PF-A:DCL
 'He understood' (i.e., 'It entered to him')

Compare the above examples with (54) below in which the subject is in the Nominative case:

- 54a. **ʔízí giig-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM agree-PF-A:DCL
 'He agreed'
- 54b. **ʔízí gel-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM enter-PF-A:DCL
 'He entered'

The following is a list of verbs in Maale that take a Dative complement

Table 3.3 Maale verbs taking a Dative complement

Three-Place Verbs taking Dative Case		Two-Place verbs taking Dative Case	
maɗ-	'work'	t-	'to be (verb)'
wot-	'do'	salant-	'greet (borrowed Amh.)'
ʔing-	'give'	giig-	'agree'
keezz-	'tell'	gabbaʔ-	'to be legitimate (borrowed Amh.)'
c'igg-	'pay'	maʔ-	'happen'
ʔer-	'know'	lóʔ-	'marry'
ʔekki hant-	'lead'		
máh-	'return, answer'		
ɗaww-	'show direction'		
pák'-	'divide'		
kats-	'cook'		
ʃank'-	'buy'		
gaʔ-	'say'		

3.5.2.2 *The Instrumental*

The morpheme **-na** marks the Instrumental and its semantically related case; the "Comitative". Consider the following examples:

- 55a. **ʔííní ɗeɛʃa wolk'é-na poʔʔ-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM medicine:ABS power:ABS-INST be-light-PF-A:DCL
 'He was cured by the medicine'
 (lit. 'He became light (not dark) by the power of the medicine')

- 55b. **ta lágg-átsi peekó mácc-ó-na wolla**
 1SG:GEN friend-M:NOM 3LOG:GEN wife-ABS-INST together
mukk-é-ne
 come-PF-A:DCL
 'My friend came with his wife'

The morpheme **-na** also marks coordination of noun phrases. However, while the Instrumental occurs only in non-subject positions, the conjunctive marker can occur in subject or object position, as illustrated in (56). (We label these three identically: INST. See also section 3.9.)

- 56a. **kan-éll-ó-na wur-éll-ó-na ʔaʃki múʔ-á-ne**
 dog-F-ABS-INST cat-F-ABS-INST meat:ABS eat-IPF-A:DCL
 'The dog and the cat eat meat'

- 56b. **kan-éll-á na??-éll-ó-na wur-éll-ó-na dauss-á-ne**
 dog-F-NOM child-F-ABS-INST cat-F-ABS-INST chase-IPF-A:DCL
 'The dog is chasing the girl and the cat'

3.5.2.3 *The Genitive*

The Genitive relation between nouns can be marked by word order or through a combination of word order and suffixation of **-ko**, as represented below:

Table 3.4 Genitive marking

Possessor Noun	Possessed Noun	Possessor noun-ko Possessed Noun
nayi kúcci	'a child's hand'	nayi-ko kúcci 'a child's hand'
laali kúcci	'a woman's hand'	laali-ko kúcci 'a woman's hand'

There is a slight semantic difference involved in the choice of these two strategies. The presence of the morpheme **-ko** on the possessor noun adds emphasis to the following possessed (head) noun. The contrast in the (a) and (b) forms in the following example illustrates this.

- 57a. **gudúri tókí k'amítsi-ke**
 hyena:ABS foot:NOM short-BE:A:DCL
 'A hyena's leg is short'

- 57b. **gudúri-ko tókí k'amítsi-ke**
 hyena-GEN foot:NOM short-BE:A:DCL
 'A hyena's leg is short'

Example (57b) above implies:

- hango bez-á k'amítsi t-uwá-se**
 another place-NOM short:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'The rest of its body is not short'

A similar contrast is expressed in examples (58a) and (58b) below. In (58b) note the additional sentence given in brackets.

- 58a. **?iyátá keetsi kara koff-á-ne**
 3PL:NOM house:ABS door:ABS make-IPF-A:DCL
 'They are making a door of a house'

- 58b. **?iyátá keetsi-ko kara koff-á-ne**
 3PL:NOM house-GEN door:ABS make-IPF-A:DCL
 [The house is being made with a door]

(keetsi-ko tiitsi dírk'-uwá-se)
 (house-GEN fence:ABS fence-IPF:NEG-N:DCL)

'They are making a door of a house (they are not making a fence of a house)'

Note first that in the above examples the possessive phrase involves indefinite nouns; however, both ways of genitive marking can be used with definite nouns as well; moreover, the possessor nouns in these examples occur in the Absolutive case. Example (59) below shows that in the possessive construction definite nouns also take the Absolutive case.

- 59a. naʔʔ-atsi tóki 'the boy's foot'
 child-M:ABS foot
- 59b. naʔʔ-éll-ó tóki 'the girl's foot'
 child-F-ABS foot
- 59c. naʔʔ-atsi miiffé 'the boy's money'
 child-M:ABS money
- 59d. naʔʔ-éll-ó miiffé 'the girl's money'
 child-F-ABS money

The above examples also show that there is no formal distinction in Maale between alienable and inalienable possession (compare examples 59a-b and 59c-d above).

Expanded possessive constructions can be expressed through word order of the type shown in table 3.4 above, although this appears to be less preferred when four or more possessive nouns are involved. An example of such juxtaposed expanded possessive construction is given in (60a). Alternatively, expanded possessive constructions may be expressed with -ko affixed to each possessor noun as in example (60b-c) or -ko only attached to the first possessor noun as in (60d-e).

- 60a. naʔʔ-ó ʔind-ó kan-á púúpi-ke
 child-ABS mother-ABS dog-NOM big-BE:A:DCL
 'The child's mother's dog is big'
- 60b. naʔʔ-ó-ko ʔind-ó-ko tookk-á ɓ'ark'-int-é-ne
 child-ABS-GEN mother-ABS-GEN head-NOM hit-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The child's mother's head is hurt'
- 60c. naʔʔ-ó-ko ʔind-ó-ko ʔifó ʔééll-é
 child-ABS-GEN mother-ABS-GEN elder brother call-2SG:IMP
 'Call the boy's mother's elder brother!'
- 60d. naʔʔ-ó-ko púúpp-ó kanzi ʔáápp-á harg-á-ne
 child-ABS-GEN big-AGR dog:DF:ABS head-NOM be sick-IPF-A:DCL
 'The child's big dog's eyes are infected'

- 60e. **kan-ó-ko** **tókk-ó** **megés'-á** **mek'k'-é-ne**
 dog-ABS-GEN leg-ABS bone-NOM break-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog's leg's bone is broken'

Modifiers may intervene between possessor and possessed noun, e.g. **?asi mélle laali** 'another person's wife' in the following sentence.

61. **laali** **késk-í** **?ááf-é-to** **?asi** **mélle** **laali**
 woman:NOM go out-CNV₁ go-PF-CND person:ABS another wife:ABS
ma?-uwá-se
 happen-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'If a woman (who is married to the Karnayi clan) walks out (on her husband), she will not become a wife of any other man'

3.5.2.4 *The Locative*

There are three Locative suffixes. These have an overlapping but slightly different function and morphological distribution.

62. **-ídda** 'on/in'
-aa 'on/in'
-ka 'on/in'

-ídda, **-aa** and **-ka** may occur in identical positions as in :

63. **tóki** 'foot' → **tók-ídda** **tók-a** **tók-ka** 'on/in a foot'
mítsi 'tree' → **míts-ídda** **mís'-a** **mís-ka** 'on/in a tree'
máári 'house' → **máár-ídda** **máár-a** **máár-ka** 'on/in a house'
tooki 'head' → **took-ídda** **took-aa** **took-ka** 'on/in a head'

Note that the expressions **máára**, **mááridda**, **máárka** 'on/in a house' do not strictly refer to the interior of the house or the construction itself. They refer to the house as well as the cleared ground around it, which is used as a drying place for grain and a place where different family activities take place. To refer only to house as a construction or to locate something in the interior only, **keetsi** 'house', **wúde** 'hut' are used.

As the examples under (63) show, when the Locative suffix **-aa** follows a syllable with high tone, it is reduced to **-a**. Further examples showing this tonal variation include the following:

- 64a. **Yízi** **zedf-aa** **koom-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM skin-LOC jump-PF-A:DCL
 'He jumped on the mat'

- 64b. ʔízi ʔarap-ó ʔárs-a gets-é-ne
 3MS:NOM knife-ABS bed-LOC put-PF-A:DCL
 'He put the knife on the bed'

Although all of the three Locative markers may occur in an identical environment and/or context (as in 63), these three are distributionally, and to some extent, semantically different. For example, -idda mainly refers to spatial relations which involve physical contact as well as a static relation between the located object and the reference object. On the other hand -ka and -aa refer to Locative relations in which the located object may move within the area/region of the reference object. One indirect support for this differentiation comes from the way drawings in the Bowerman & Pederson Topological Picture Series are *automatically* interpreted.¹ For instance, for entities in a coincidence Locative relation which are construed as static, the Locative marker -idda is used:

- 65a. sínn-á s'arɓez-ó-idda-ke
 cup:DF-NOM table-ABS-LOC-BE:A:DCL
 'The cup is on the table'
- 65b. mis'-á dúkk-ó goobb-ó-idda ʔá-á-ne
 tree:DF-NOM mountain-ABS side-ABS-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The tree is on the side of the mountain'
- 65c. ʃóó33-á dúrm-ó-idda márt-í ʔá-á-ne
 snake:DF-NOM trunk-ABS-LOC curl up-CNV₁ exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The snake is curled up on the trunk'

On the other hand, in a similar Locative relation, for entities that are perceived as "active" the Locative marker -ka or -aa is the first choice:

- 66a. naʔ-atsí k'ork'ori ʔus'-a giʔ-í ʔá-á-ne
 child-M:NOM iron sheet body-LOC climb-CNV₁ exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The boy is on the iron-sheet roof, having climbed up'
- 66b. ʃang-éll-á máár-ó-ko sák-ka ʔá-á-ne
 spider-F-NOM house-ABS-GEN roof-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The spider is on the ceiling of the house'.

¹ The Bowerman & Pederson Topological Picture Series was developed by members of the Max Plank Research Institute in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. It contains series of drawings which are used as a means of getting at information on spatial expressions in various languages. According to this method, the researcher asks the speakers to look at the drawings and describe in his own language the location of one highlighted object in the drawing in relation to the other (non-highlighted) objects.

- 66c. mól-átsí ?ótt-ó waas'-aa ?á-á-ne
 fish-M:NOM pot-ABS water-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The fish is in the pot'

When asked, informants say the Locative markers *-ídda*, *-aa* and *-ka* in the above examples can be interchanged, but when they *first* describe the spatial relation by looking at drawings their choice of one or the other form appears to be associated with relative possibility for movement within the perceived reference point.

The second piece of evidence for considering *-ka* as a Locative marker expressing relations in which the located object and the reference object are not in a static contact, involves the use of *-ka* in spatial deixis such as *ha-ka* 'here, close to the speaker' (*-aa* does not occur with demonstratives). In contrast to *ha-ka* 'here', *ha-ídda* 'on/inside this one' expresses the fact that the located object occupies a fixed position. In other words, *haka* 'here' is indefinite and refers to a non-specific location while *hayídda* 'inside/on this' is more specific. Furthermore, place deictic words such as *lé-ka* 'upwards', *lí-ka* 'downwards', which are formed by suffixation of *-ka*, to *lóó* 'up' and *lúú* 'down' express 'indefinite locations', i.e., locations not identified in context.

Finally, while *-ka* and *-aa* can occur with complements of motion verbs; *-ídda* cannot replace these morphemes in the following examples:

- 67a. néení wo-ka ?áád-á-y
 2SG:NOM where-LOC go-IPF-Q
 'Where are you going?'
 67b. waas'-aa ne ?indó naa-zz-í ?áád-é-ne
 water-LOC 2SG:GEN mother child-DF-NOM go-PF-A:DCL
 'Your brother went to the water (to draw water)'

As mentioned above, the morphemes *-ídda*, *-ka*, and *-aa* are general Locative markers, which, depending on the shape or nature of the nouns in relation, are interpreted as denoting spatial relations of coincidence (on/at) or of interiority or inclusion (in/inside) as in the following examples:

- 68a. ?ííní wúdd-a gel-é-ne
 3MS:NOM hut:DF-LOC enter-PF-A:DCL
 'He entered (into) the hut'
 68b. ?ííní mól-átsi zed'd-ó-ídda gets-é-ne
 3MS:NOM fish-:PL:ABS mat:DF-ABS-LOC put-PF-A:DCL
 'He put fish on the mat'

To express more specific locations *-ídda*, *-ka* and *-aa* combine with locative nouns such as *démme* 'under', *saza* 'heart/middle', etc, in genitive construction, as in the following examples.

- 69a. **máár-ó zúll-a** or **máár-ó-ko zúll-a**
 house-ABS back-LOC house-ABS-GEN back-LOC
 'roof of the house'
- 69b. **ʔótt-ó démm-a** or **ʔótt-ó-ko démm-a**
 pot-ABS under-LOC pot-ABS-GEN under-LOC
 'under the pot'
- 69c. **ʔíiní ʔaʃk-ó sáánn-ó sazz-aa gets-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM meat-ABS plate-ABS heart:DF-LOC put-PF-A:DCL
 'He put the meat in the middle of the plate'

The reason for considering words such as **zúlla** 'back', **démm** 'under', etc. as nouns is the fact that they take Accusative, Locative and Genitive cases, which otherwise are affixed to nominal categories. They are also phonologically similar to nominals in their vowel ending. We use the term 'Locative noun' here, which is used in Hayward (1990) to refer to similar nouns in Zayse, another Omoto language. The following is a list of Locative nouns in Maale.

Table 3.5. Locative nouns in Maale

ʔutsi	'body'	saza	'center, heart'
ʔac'i	'area, side, near'	kóilla	'beside'
garsí	'inside'	kóra	'beside, next'
gidímiʃi	'center, waist, noon'	baaka	'middle'
goobbe	'side of vertical objects, e.g. tree'	gídida	'inside, among'
démm	'under'		? (garsí + -idda)
zúlle	'back, behind, outside'		

3.5.2.5 The Ablative

The Ablative in Maale is marked by the morpheme **-ppa**.

- 70a. **kaní-ppa megétsí sar-ínt-uwá-se**
 dog-ABL bone:NOM snatch-PAS-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'A bone can/should not be snatched from a dog'
- 70b. **nayí-ppa miíʃfě ʔekk-ínt-uwá-se**
 child-ABL money:NOM take-PAS-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Money can/should not be taken from a child'

That the Ablative is also formed on the basis of the Absolutive case becomes clear when the definite form of the noun is considered, as in the following examples:

- 71a. *ʔízi naʔʔ-éll-ó-ppa miiffé ʔekk-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM child:DF-F-ABS-ABL money:ABS take-PF-A:DCL
 'He took money from the girl'
- 71b. *ʔízi dʔúkk-ó-ppa hans'ile ʔekk-í*
 3MS:NOM mountain:DF-ABS-ABL firewood:ABStake-CNV₁
yeʔ-é-ne
 come-PF-A:DCL
 'He brought firewood from the mountain'

In pronouns and content question words, the Ablative is also affixed to the Absolutive form:

- 72a. *ʔiyátá ʔiyátó-ppa talʔ-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM 3PL:ABS-ABL borrow-PF-A:DCL
 'They borrowed from them'
- 72b. *ʔízá ʔízó-ppa ʔekk-é-ne*
 3FS:NOM 3FS:ABS-ABL take-PF-A:DCL
 'She took from her'
- 72c. *nééni hánnó ʔóó-ppa ʔekk-é-y*
 2SG:NOM this:ABS who:ABS-ABL take-PF-Q
 'From whom did you take this?'
 (cf. *ʔóóni* 'who:NOM')

We have demonstrated in the previous sections that peripheral cases occur in combination with the Absolutive case. This holds true for the Genitive, Dative, Instrumental and the Ablative. In addition to this, the Ablative tends to occur with the Absolutive and with one of the Locative case markers as illustrated in (73).

- 73a. *ha-ká-ppa* 'from here'
 this-LOC-ABL
- 73b. *máár-ó-ídda-ppa* 'from the house'
 house-ABS-LOC-ABL
- 73c. *míʃ-éll-ó-ídda-ppa* 'from the eldest sister'
 eldest sister-F-ABS-LOC-ABL

3.5.2.6 *The Vocative*

When a gender distinction is made lexically, both masculine and feminine forms are marked with -é in the Vocative.

74. *ʔínd-é* 'mother!' (cf. *ʔíndó* 'mother (ABS)')
ʔád-é 'father!' (cf. *ʔáde* 'father (ABS)')

- míʃ-é** 'sister!' (cf. **míʃó** 'sister (ABS)')
ʔíʃ-é 'brother!' (cf. **ʔíʃó** 'brother (ABS)')

However, when gender is marked morphologically, the Vocative is marked with **-(y)ó** for masculine and with **-é** in the feminine (i.e., in the latter case, the same marker as shown above).

- 75a. **ta** **naʔʔ-atsi-yó** 'my child (M)!'
 1SG:GEN child-M-VOC:M
- 75b. **ta** **naʔʔ-éll-é** 'my child (F)!'
 1SG:GEN child-F-VOC:F
- 75c. **ʔánk'-ó** 'young boy!'
 young person-VOC:M
- 75d. **ʔánk'-é** 'young girl!'
 young person-VOC:F

There are some lexicalized Vocative forms to address members of different 'clans' of Maale. In such forms the feminine and masculine Vocative forms are marked with different strategies: Masculine is marked by the morpheme **-óssó** and the feminine form by juxtaposition of a noun referring to the clan and **'nayi** 'child' suffixed with the vocative marker **-é** as illustrated by the following forms.

76. **geḃóssó** \ Vocative, for a man whose mother belongs to the Karnayi clan
geḃó nayé Vocative, for a woman whose mother belongs to the Karnayi clan
worróssó Vocative, for a man whose mother belongs to the Banate clan
worró nayé Vocative, for a woman whose mother belongs to the Banate clan

The base forms in the above terms of address refer to plants or objects which are important to the rituals of different clans or which are taboo for the members to touch. The above Vocative forms for example come from **geḃó** 'kind of plant' and **worrá** 'sling' respectively.

3.6 Diminutive and augmentative

The diminutive marker is **-ómma** with low tone on its final vowel in the Absolute and high tone in the Nominative. However, when the vowel of the base form is not deleted, the diminutive marker is realized as **-mma** (see below the diminutive affixed to deictic terms). The diminutive is marked only for definite nouns. The contrast between (77a-b) and (77c-d) below illustrates this:

- 77a. **ďákka tiikí mukk-é-ne**
 little monkey:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'A little monkey came'
- 77b. **tááni ďákka ďársi zag-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM little elephant:ABS see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw a little elephant'
- 77c. **ďákk-ó tiik-ómma mukk-é-ne**
 little-AGR monkey-DIM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The little monkey came'
- 77d. **tááni ďákk-ó ďarz-ómma zag-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM little-AGR elephant-DIM see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw the little elephant'

The feminine marker **-éll-** can also be interpreted as diminutive in some usages.

78. **yénnó mís'-éll-ó dongoʔas-á bukint-i**
 that:F:ABS tree-F:ABS five person:PL-NOM gather-CNV₁
wolla tóg-á-ne
 together up root-IPF-A:DCL
 'Five people gather together and uproot that (small) tree'

Similarly, the augmentative is expressed by the masculine gender marker **-ats-**, as shown in the following example.

79. **máár-átsi mazz-int-é-ne**
 house-M:NOM build-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The (big) house is built'

The masculine demonstrative form **hayí** 'this' (which, when referring to things or non-humans denotes something big) can be combined with the diminutive marker to express relative smallness. In contrast, when **ha** 'this F/M' (which is the base form for both masculine and feminine demonstratives) is combined with the diminutive, it refers to an even smaller object. Thus, the form in (80b) may be used to refer to a tiny object held in the hand.

- 80a. **hayi-mma** 'this:NOM'
 this:M-DIM
- 80b. **ha-mma** 'this:NOM'
 this-DIM

Agreement between demonstratives and a head noun in the diminutive can be seen from the following forms:

- 81a. **hayi-mma naʔʔ-ómma tááni ʔer-á-ne**
 this-DIM child-DIM 1SG:NOM know-IPF-A:DCL
 'I know this boy'
- 81b. **yé-mma tá nées-m keezz-é-mma né**
 that-DIM 1SG:NOM you-DAT tell-PF:REL-DIM 2SG:NOM
wayz-ibá-y
 hear-PF:NEG-Q
 'Didn't you hear that which I told you? (i.e., Why did you ignore my (little) advice?)'

3.7 Indeterminacy marker

The suffix **-ske-** in Maale marks referents which are "unidentified" or "unknown" either by the hearer, or the speaker or both. When this suffix is attached to nouns, the gender markers used are different from those described in section 3.3. With **-ske-**, the feminine gender is marked by **-nn-** whereas the masculine gender is not morphologically marked. The feminine gender marker **-nn-** is also used with pronouns and demonstratives (see Chapter Six). The following examples illustrate feminine indeterminate forms.

- 82a. **ʔasí-ské-nn-á néná ʔééll-á-ne**
 person-INDT-F-NOM 2SG:ABScall-IPF-A:DCL
 'Some woman is calling you'
 (the speaker does not know the visitor; the hearer has not yet identified the visitor)
- 82b. **bayí-ské-nn-ó tá zag-é-ne**
 cow-INDT-F-ABS 1SG:NOM see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw a cow (which I did not know before)'
- 82c. **ʔeyíʔe naʔi-ské-nn-á kats-andá-ne**
 no child-IDET-F-NOM cook-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'No. A certain girl (whom you don't know) will cook'

Example (82c) above is used as a response to the following question:

83. **hannó néná d-á-y na-att-ó-m múʔʔ-ó**
 today you:ABS BE-IPF-Q child-PL-ABS-DAT food-ABS
kats-andá-tsi
 cook-F:IPF:REL-NMZ
 'Is it you who cooks today for the children?'

The following are examples of Masculine indeterminate nouns. Note that case marking in these forms is slightly different: Nominative case is marked by *-í* and the Absolutive case by *-a*. The same case marking is used in Masculine forms of demonstratives (see Chapter Six).

- 84a. *pétte sabaké-ské-í maa3a gaʔ-á-ské-í*
 one preacher-IDET-NOM maa3a say-IPF:REL-IDET-NOM
mukk-é-ne
 come-PF-A:DCL
 'One preacher, who is called Maa3a came (whom the hearers do not know)'
- 84b. *gemayí-ské-ya tá zag-é-ne*
 ox-IDET-ABS 1SG:NOM see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw an ox (the speaker did not know before)'
- 84c. *naʔi-ske-í peeró go3-ó ʔáád-é-tsi-ro*
 child-INDT-NOM he_alone farm:DF-ABS go-PF-NMZ-REAS
tá mal-á-ne
 1SG:NOM think-IPF-A:DCL
 'I am worried about a boy who went to the farm alone'

As the context in which example (84c) was used suggests, the indeterminate form is not necessarily associated with the "known" and "unknown" dichotomy: the referent may be known both to the speaker and the hearer(s). However, he may not be "identified/determined" in the speech context; in the case of (84c) the speaker was referring to one of his sons whom the other speech participants knew. Although we occasionally used the English words 'some' and 'certain' in translating the indeterminate suffix *-ske-* in Maale, the function of the latter is different. Maale uses *pétte pétte*, a reduplicated form of the numeral *one*, as an equivalent term to 'some' and 'certain'. Consider the following examples:

- 85a. *kafi máárí pétte pétte míts-ídda bed-á-ne*
 bird house:NOM one one tree-LOC be seen-PF-A:DCL
 'Nests are found in certain trees' (Nests are found in some trees but not in all)
- 85b. *ʔííní pétte pétte haise koff-í keezz-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM one one story:ABS good-CNV₁ tell-IPF-A:DCL
 'He tells certain stories very well (Some stories he tells good (others he tells badly))'
- 85c. *ʔííní haiss-ó pétte pétte ʔási-m keezz-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM story-ABS one one person-DAT tell-IPF-A:DCL
 'He tells the story to certain people (and refuses to tell them to others)'

3.8 Nominal derivation and compounding

3.8.1 Nominal derivation

Only one type of derived nominals is identified. These are abstract nominals which are derived from adjectivals through the suffixation of *-um-*.

86.	ʔodossi	'tall'	ʔodoss-um-ó	'tallness'
	dalgi	'wide'	dalg-um-ó	'wideness'
	ʃiicci	'soft'	ʃiicc-um-ó	'softness'
	deetsi	'heavy'	deets-um-ó	'heaviness'

When *-um-* is affixed to a noun that has high tone on one or more vowels, all vowels on the base form get low tone as the following examples demonstrate:

87.	kúnʔe	'narrow'	kunʔ-um-ó	'narrowness'
	dúúǎǎǎ	'selfish'	duudǎǎ-um-ó	'selfishness'
	ʔirissi	'thick (of liquid)'	ʔiriss-um-ó	'thickness'
	mízaǎǎ	'beautiful'	mizaǎ-um-ó	'beauty'
	kúmútsi	'full'	kumuts-um-ó	'fulness'
	ʃéncénni	'thin (of bread, book)'	ʃencenn-um-ó	'thinness'

The following are illustrative sentences:

- 88a. yéya kan-z-í-ko karts-um-ó né zag-íya
 that:ABS dog-DF-ABS-GEN black-NMZ-ABS 2SG:NOM see-PF:Q
 'Did you see the blackness of that dog?' (cf. kártsi 'black')
- 88b. máár-ó-ko puup-um-ó ʔizi naʃk-á-ne
 house-ABS-GEN big-NMZ-ABS 3MS:NOM like-IPF-A:DCL
 'He likes the magnitude of the house'

The *-ó* following the nominalizer suffix is a case marker. It changes to *-á* in the Nominative as shown below:

- 89a. ǎeǎǎ-ó-ko c'anc-um-á ʔizá c'ooǎǎ-é-ne
 medicine-ABS-GEN bitter-NMZ-NOM 3MS:ABS vomit:CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'The bitterness of the medicine made him vomit' (cf. c'anci 'bitter')
- 89b. kanzi-ko karts-um-á c'ilanc'i gúdeya-ke
 dog:DF-GEN black-NMZ-NOM soot:ABS like-BE:A:DCL
 'The blackness of the dog is like that of soot'

There are verbal and nominal pairs which formally differ from each other only in tone. However, for these forms, it is not possible to take one form as basic and derive the

other from it. Thus, below, we simply list the verbal and nominal (i.e., noun and adjective) forms.

90.	Nouns		Verbs
	máðo	'work	mað-
	ʔóli	'war'	ʔol-
	póʔʔi	'light'	poʔʔ-
	ʔánjo	'blessing'	ʔanj-
	tálʔe	'debt'	talʔ-
	dábo	'mistake'	dab-
	ḡázi	'race'	ḡaʃk-
	cóʃi	'vomit'	c'oofk-
	ʔéḡḡi	'starting point (of river source)'	ʔek'k'-
	kémó	'hunting'	kem-
	ʃoicci	'labour'	ʃoʔ-
	yeepi	'tears'	yeekk-
	deebíssi	'belch'	deebisk-
			'to work'
			'to fight'
			'to become light'
			'to bless'
			'to borrow/lend'
			'to err, miss a target'
			'to run'
			'to vomit'
			'to stand'
			'to hunt'
			'to give birth'
			'to cry'
			'to belch'

The following examples illustrate the fact that the adjectival and verbal forms may be distinguished in tone. However, here too we cannot take one of these forms as basic and the other as derivative.

91.	dódi	'strong'	dod-	'to become strong'
	púrta	'bad'	purt-	'to become bad, spoiled'
	pízze	'straight'	pizz-	'to become straight'
	mélzi	'dry'	mel-	'to become dry'
	s'áád'i	'dry (of mud)'	s'aad-	'to become dry'
	gárci	'old'	garc-	'to become old'
	ʃeléʔe	'light'	ʃeleʔ-	'to become light'

Agentive and Instrumental nouns are expressed through compound or phrasal forms (see below).

There are several reduplicated nouns in Maale. Most of these involve plant names various bird species and body parts. These nouns cannot be treated as derived forms because, synchronically, the non-derived basic forms are not known. Some examples:

92.	góngónni	'sheath'
	kólkóló	'thigh bone'
	ḡilḡiló	'black bean' (also known as: ḡiló)
	gágácci	'part of the mouth between the (inner) chick and mollars'
	gangará	'jaw'

3.8.2 *Compound nouns*

Nominal compounding in Maale involves only two components. In the data available, most of the compound nouns are formed with nouns. Except for a few color terms, there are no other compound nouns derived from noun and adjective combinations. A few compound nouns which have noun and verb components are recorded. The Noun + Noun and the Noun + Verb combinations are illustrated in examples (93) and (94) respectively:

93a. N = N + N

fóla	fofori	'a small rat' (fóla 'k. of bird'; fofori 'bachelor')
tóki	zedi	'front part of foot including toes' (tóki 'leg'; zedi 'skin')
ʔélé	ʔindirsi	'uvula' (ʔélé 'acting, pretending'; ʔindirsi 'tongue')
sóokko	béelli	'special friend' (sóokko 'chyme'; béelli 'bond friend')
ʔáápi	káre/ʔáúkare	'face' (ʔáápi 'eye'; káre 'door')
ʔabi	tóki	'ray, sunbeam' (ʔabi 'sun'; tóki 'leg/foot')
ʔábbó	baacci	'areola' (ʔábbó 'uncle'; baacci 'hole where flying insects gather')

There are also semantically more transparent compound forms:

93b. N = N + N

took	sore	'brain' (took 'head'; sore 'bone marrow')
gofi	baazzi	'intestine' (gofi 'belly'; baazzi 'thing')
ʔabi	dúússi	'noon' (ʔabi 'sun'; dúússi 'explosion')
k'álsa	gusi	'gourd used for travelling' (k'álsa 'elbow'; gusi 'gourd')
hótti	ʔacci	'front teeth' (wótti 'opposite'; ʔacci 'teeth')
tússi	ʔasi	'prisoner' (tússi 'bunch'; ʔasi 'person')

94a. N = N + V

léggó	wodfa	'a stream bed between Bala and Bunka villages' (léggó 'co-wife' wodf- 'kill')
ʔútti	ʔékkó	'kind of sorghum, short' (ʔútti- 'sit'; ʔékk- 'take')

94b. N = V + N

wofi	wóngo	'hip' (wof- 'to clean gourd with water and pebbles'; wóngo '?')
gócci	nayí	'small gourd used when travelling' (gócc- 'pull'; nayí 'child')

The following compound nouns contain a component the meaning of which was not known to my informants.

95.	sitta	kóbbó	'chicken pox' (sitta '?'; kóbbó 'viper')
	gááro	búk'o	'ankle' (gááro 'kind of tree'; búk'o '?')
	goofi	góbbó	'chameleon' (goofi '?'; góbbó 'stomachs')

- gafi mailó** 'caterpillar' (gaf- 'to gulp'; mailo '?')
kubba máári 'a house with sleeping platform' (kubba '?' máári 'house')

Number and case markers can intervene between the two components, as the contrast between the plural and singular forms of the following words show.

96. **tookí sóre** 'brain' **tookkó sórró** 'brains'
tóki zedí 'front part of foot and toes' **tókkó zedđó** '(front part of) feet'
gofi baazzi 'intestine' **gođbó bakkó** 'intestines'
ʔáápi káre 'face' **ʔááppó kárró** 'faces'

Some of the colour terminology involve compound words:

97. **saamúna galápi** 'orange' (saamúna 'soap'; gálláppi 'yellow')
dínki zok'k'e 'dark red' (dínki '?'; zok'k'e 'red')
súgutsi zok'k'e 'bright red' (súgutsi 'blood'; zok'k'e 'red')

Some colour concepts are expressed through ideophones (see also Chapter Thirteen):

98. **zok'k'e dáʔe** 'whitish red' **déʔi geʔéne** 'it became whitish red'
kártsi diili 'very black' **diili diili geʔéne** 'it became very black'

Many compound nouns involve the words **ʔindó** 'mother' and **máccó** 'wife'.

99. **ʔóóʔi ʔindó** 'whitish, big lizard' (ʔóóʔi 'snake'; ʔindó 'mother')
gurdári ʔindó 'plant used to clean beehives' (gurdári '?')
dampúri ʔindó 'middle-sized plant with bad smell' (dampúri '?')
ʔucci mácco 'a short plant which grows on hard ground'
naazzi ʔindó 'a woman who divorced or widowed her first husband after having given birth to a son'
ʔoncoori ʔindó 'kind of flying insect which has two pairs of wings; the upper ones are hard and are used for decoration when making dresses for young girls' (ʔoncoori 'the sound made when young girls who are wearing the dress, decorated with the wings of the insect, walk')
laali máccó 'motor mill' (laali 'woman' mácco 'wife')

The last compound noun in (99) seems to be a newly coined term which reflects the division of labour in Maale society. A woman is the one who grinds and cooks for her husband. The machine which accomplishes one of the most time-consuming tasks of women, i.e. grinding, is identified with another noun referring to the marital role of women. Structurally this noun looks like a possessive construction: 'woman's wife'.

Many plant names are compounds:

100. **dirsi boyo** 'kind of yam plant' (**dirsi** 'fence'; **boyo** 'yam')
waari ʔamʔi 'kind of plant' (**waari** 'goat'; **ʔamʔi** 'coffee beans')
gudúri súfi 'spur' (**gudúri** 'hyena'; **súfi** 'fart')
tiiki kúcci 'taller variety of sorghum' (**tiiki** 'monkey'; **kúcci** 'hand')
k'aare halakko 'kind of tree' (**k'aare** 'ape'; **halakko** 'big tree, the leaf of which is used as vegetable')
wárgále ʃongalácci 'kind of tree' (**ʃongalácci** strong tree used to make household utensils; **wárgále** 'kind of bird')

Some compounds, formed by using **nayi** 'child' as a second component, express an agentive meaning. Semantically these are transparent and express "division of labour" among family members; note, however, that these do not express Genitive meaning.

101. **bayi nayi** 'one who brings cattle to grazing area' (**bayi** 'cow or cattle')
waari nayi 'one who takes care of goats' (**waari** 'goat')
goʃi nayi 'one who stays around the farm and protects it from cattle and birds' (**goʃi** 'farm')
móótsi nayi 'one who lives in cattle camp, located a few kilometers away from villages, and takes care of cattle there' (**móótsi** 'cattle camp')
k'ólmo nayi 'one who brings cattle to grazing area in the morning and brings them back home in the evenings' (**k'ólmo** 'property')

Maale compound nouns do not involve the use of a connecting element. Neither is there tonal or segmental alternation on the base form of the components. As can be seen from the above list, most compounds involve N + N combinations. This shows that there is structural similarity between compounds and possessive constructions. Semantically too, in some cases it is difficult to tell whether the form is a compound noun or a possessive noun phrase as in the following forms:

102. **síidfi ʔéte** 'nostril' (**síidfi** 'nose'; **ʔéte** 'hole')
kúcci garsi 'palm of the hand' (**kúcci** 'hand'; **garsi** 'inside')
keetsi garsi 'floor, interior' (**keetsi** 'house'; **garsi** 'inside')
duunni ʃoofʃi 'kind of snake, lives in termite hills' (**duunni** 'termite hill'; **ʃoofʃi** 'snake')

The above forms too allow inflectional markers between the two nouns, as the following examples demonstrate:

103. **dúúnnó ʃóóʒʒó** 'snakes' (of a species which lives in termite hills)
síidʔó ʔettó 'nostrils'

kúc'ó garó	'palms of hands'
kéés's'ó garó	'floor, interior'

However, while possessive constructions can take an optional Genitive case marker **-ko**, compounds do not. Thus, the compound nouns in (103) above cannot be affixed with **-ko** as the ungrammaticality of the following forms shows:

104. ***dúúnoko** fóófi 'kind of snake'
 ***súú'iko** ?ete 'nostril'
 ***kúc'óko** garó 'palm of hand'

Furthermore, possessive constructions may involve more than two members whereas all compound nouns have only two components.

3.9 Co-ordination

Coordination of two or more noun phrases is marked by the morpheme **-na** which also marks the Instrumental and the Comitative (cf. Section 3.5.2.2. above). Payne (1985:29) correctly predicts that "[e]ven in languages which do have the same surface morpheme for the conjunction and the comitative, it is commonly the case that devices exist for keeping the two apart". Maale achieves this distinction by double marking all conjoined nouns for conjunction and by using only one **-na** for the Comitative. Consider the following examples.

- 105a. **táání** **suugg-atsí** **laal-éll-ó-na** (**?á-á-nte**)
 1SG:NOM chief-M:NOM woman-F-ABS-INST (exist-IPF-TEMP₃)
 zag-é-ne
 see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw the chief with the woman'

- 105b. **táání** **suugg-atsí-na** **laal-éll-ó-na** **zag-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM chief-M:ABS-INST woman-F-ABS-INST see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw the chief and the woman'

CHAPTER 4

PRONOUNS

Pronouns in Maale are similar to nouns in some respects. However, since they also exhibit characteristics which are not observed in nouns, e.g. having their own paradigm for person and number, they are dealt with separately in this chapter.

In the following table a list of Logophoric, Genitive, Subject and Object pronouns of Maale is given.

Table 4.1 The pronoun paradigm

	3LOG	GEN	SBJ/NOM	OBJ/ABS
1SG		ta	táání tá	táná
2SG		ne	nééní né	néná
3MS	pe-	ʔizá	ʔizí ʔííní ʔí	ʔizá
3FS	pe-	ʔizó	ʔizá	ʔizó
1PL		nu	núúní nú	núná
2PL		ʔintsi	ʔintsí	ʔintsi
3PL	pe-	ʔiyátó	ʔiyátá	ʔiyátó

Based on their morphological characteristics, the pronouns in the above table are divided into two groups: the first group, which is labelled here as 'basic pronouns' for convenience, consists of first person (singular and plural), second person singular and third person masculine singular pronouns. Pronouns which belong to this first group have a simple morphological form and they distinguish case, gender and number distinctively from nouns. The second group consists of third person feminine

singular and second and third person plural pronouns which contain more than two morphemes. We label these 'secondary pronouns'. Secondary pronouns are marked for case, definiteness and number by using the same morphemes which mark case, definiteness and number in nouns. Secondary pronouns are thus more noun-like. The distinction between basic and secondary forms of pronouns in Maale raises interesting synchronic and diachronic issues. Below, each of the two pronoun types is discussed in turn.

4.1 Basic pronouns

The following basic pronouns are extracted from Table 4.1 above.

1.	LOG	GEN	Unmarked Pronouns
1SG		ta	tá
2SG		ne	né
3MS	pe	-	ʔi
1PL		nu	nú

The logophoric pronoun is used only in the third person (see below for a discussion of this form). The third person does not have a basic possessive pronoun; it also exhibits other peculiarities which will be discussed later. The possessive pronouns and 'unmarked pronouns' differ from each other only in tone. This might suggest that either the possessive pronouns are derived from the unmarked pronouns by replacing high tone with low tone or the other way round. This position is not adopted here because no evidence can be provided to justify the direction of derivation. We also expect that the phonological and morphological nature of the nouns with which possessive pronouns occur can have effect on the form of the possessive pronouns and thus complicate the issue.

Unmarked pronouns are used as Subject pronouns, as in:

- 2a. né núú-na maɗ-andá-ne
 2SG:NOM 1PL-INST work-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'You will work with us'
- 2b. nú ʔársa maʒʒ-á-ne
 1PL:NOM bed:ABS make-IPF-A:DCL
 'We are making a bed'

Although the 'unmarked pronouns' occur in subject position, it seems that they are not spelled out for case, because we find the same tá, né, etc. in the Absolutive, Dative, Ablative, etc. as well (see below; however, in this study, both short and long/inflected forms of subject pronouns are interlinearized as Nominative).

Moreover, the unmarked (subject) pronouns have another variant which is marked for Nominative case, as can be seen in the following paradigms:

3.	Unamrked SBJ	NOM	ABS
1SG	tá	táá-n-í	tá-n-á
2SG	né	néé-n-í	né-n-á
3MS	ʒi	ʒii-n-í	—
1PL	nú	núú-n-í	nú-n-á

Thus, as illustrated in the following sentences the first person singular subject pronoun can be *tá* or *tááni*.

- 4a. *tá* *ʒaʃk-é-ne* 'I ran'
 1SG:NOM run-PF-A:DCL
- 4b. *tááni* *ʒaʃk-é-ne* 'I ran'
 1SG:NOM run-PF-A:DCL

Similarly, first person plural, second and third person singular Subject can be expressed with any of the alternative long or short pronoun forms shown in (3) above. One may argue that *tá*, *né*, *ʒi* and *nú* representing first, second and third person singular and first person plural respectively, are 'shortened forms or clitics derived from *tááni*, *nééni*, *ʒiini* and *núúni*. This is rejected in this study because the unmarked subject pronouns occur in identical syntactic environments where their longer counterparts *tááni*, *nééni*, *ʒiini* and *núúni* occur. Unlike clitics, the *tá*, *né* types of pronouns are not positionally restricted or phonologically dependent on any category. For instance, they can occur sentence initially (5a) or just before the verb (which is a focus position, see Chapter Thirteen) intervening between the latter and its complements (5b).

- 5a. *nú* *ʒáári ʒas-ó-ke*
 1PL:NOM now person-PL-BE:A:DCL
 'Well, we are people'
- 5b. *kall-um-ó* *nee-ssi* *né* *denk'-uwá*
 naked-NMZ-ABS 2SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ₂ 2SG:NOM find-NEG:IPF
- gudi ʒáápp-á nee-kó báik'k'-í ʒá-á-ne*
 COMP eye-NOM 2SG:GEN-GEN lost-CNV exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'Your eyes are lost (blind), so that YOU cannot find out about your nakedness (shame)'

In summary, the list of 'basic pronouns' in (1) and their inflected forms in (3) above shows that these pronouns do not distinguish gender; number distinction is made for first person lexically. They mark nominative case by *-í* and Absolutive case by *-á* which is different from case marking in nouns and in secondary pronouns. A similar

Nominative -í and Absolutive -á case marking pattern is attested in demonstratives. Moreover, basic pronouns formally distinguish Nominative, Absolutive and Genitive cases whereas secondary pronouns have identical forms for Absolutive and Genitive cases. Finally, all members of basic pronouns contain a petrified morpheme -n- whereas this is absent in secondary pronouns. In a comparative research of Omotic languages, Hayward and Tsuge (1998) have convincingly argued that the widely attested -n- in Omoto pronouns represents a fossil of the Proto-Omotic Accusative marker *n when Omoto languages shifted from Accusative marking to Nominative marking case system (for details, see Hayward and Tsuge 1998). This suggests that the secondary pronouns lacking the archaic morpheme -n- may be new to the pronoun paradigm of Maale. The fact that basic pronouns behave differently in terms of number, gender and case marking from secondary pronouns and other nouns supports this view.

4.2 Secondary pronouns

The following is a list of secondary pronouns in Maale:

6.	NOM	ABS	GEN
3MS	ʔi-z-í	ʔi-z-á	ʔi-z-á
3FS	ʔi-z-á	ʔi-z-ó	ʔi-z-ó
2PL	ʔi-ntsí	ʔi-ntsi	ʔi-ntsi
3PL	ʔi-yát-á	ʔi-yát-ó	ʔi-yát-ó

All of the above pronouns have the basic form ʔi-, suggesting that these are derived from the same form and are distinguished from each other by morphemes marking definiteness, number and case. It seems that the deictic forms, ʔintsí 'those (NOM)', ʔiika 'there' also have the same origin as the secondary pronouns. The morpheme -ntsi in ʔintsí 'those (NOM)' is attested in nouns as a definite plural marker and -ka in ʔiika 'there' is the Locative marker which is discussed in Chapter Three (see Chapter Six for deictic forms). However, the tonal difference between the pronoun ʔi and the deictic ʔi- cannot be explained here.

The suffixes added to the secondary pronouns in (6) contain elements which are similar to those identified in the noun morphology. In the third person feminine pronoun, for example, Nominative and Absolutive case are marked by -á and -ó respectively, as are all feminine nouns (cf. Chapter Three). The suffix -ntsi, which occurs in the second person plural pronoun ʔi-ntsí, is identical to the definite plural marker -ntsi. Just as definite plural nouns, the second person plural pronoun distinguishes case by tone: ʔi-ntsí Nominative, and ʔi-ntsi Absolutive.

The morpheme -(y)at in third person plural pronouns, e.g. ʔi-yát-á 'they (NOM)' is related to the indefinite plural marker -at(t). Notice also that in this pronoun, we

find the Nominative and Absolutive case suffixes *-á* and *-ó* which occur with the indefinite plural marker *-at(t)*.

The *-z-* in the third person singular feminine and masculine pronouns, e.g. *ǃízá* and *ǃízí*, marks definiteness (cf. Chapter Three). The gender distinction among these two pronouns is marked through the case affixes as is the case with some nouns.

It should be noted that, while a very similar pronoun system is found in many Omoto and Omotic languages, different analyses are proposed especially on the status of the short and long pronouns. Sometimes the difference in analyses is motivated by distributional restrictions holding for the short and long pronouns. For example, Azeb (1993) argued for an analysis of short pronouns in Basketto as clitics. Breeze (1990) seems to suggest a similar analysis for Bench/Gimira by using 'shortened subject pronouns' to refer to the pre-verbally occurring *ta³*, *ne³*, etc. and the term 'normal subject pronoun' to refer to *ta³n*, *ne³n*, etc. Adams (1983) argues that the short pronouns such as *tá* and *né* in Wolaitta belong to the word-level while *táá-n-í* and *néé-n-í* are phrases. According to him the latter consist of the word-level 'proforms' *tá*, *né* etc., the nominalizer *-n-* and the Nominative case marker *-í*. However, Lamberti and Sottile (1997) analyse Wolaitta pronouns as Absolutive/Genitive form *ta-*, *ne-* etc., and Nominative and Accusative case suffixes *-ni* and *-na* respectively. Allan (1976) reports for Kullo (or Dawro) that the long and short pronouns represent dialectal variation. Thus, according to him the Jimma dialect of Kullo differs from the Gene and Waka dialects in having short pronouns. (The latter thus have only long pronouns.)

4.3 Third person pronouns

The third person pronouns exhibit two peculiarities. Firstly, the third person masculine singular has properties of both basic pronouns and secondary pronouns. It belongs to the former group since one of its alternating three subject pronouns, i.e., *ǃíní* shows the features of basic pronouns: in this pronoun Nominative case is marked by *-í* just like the other basic pronouns. *ǃíní* 'he' also contains the archaic morpheme *-n-* whereas its feminine counterpart lacks this form. On the other hand, *ǃíní* does not have corresponding possessive and Absolutive pronouns. Rather, the third person masculine pronoun has an alternative form: Nominative *ǃízí* and Absolutive *ǃízá*, which are similar to secondary pronouns in that they contain the definiteness marker *-z-* which occurs with nouns. Furthermore, like other secondary pronouns, the third person masculine Absolutive and Genitive pronouns are identical.

Secondly, third person pronouns exhibit partial gender-case syncretism. That is, third person feminine Nominative is identical to masculine Absolutive. The relevant data are repeated below:

7.		NOM	ABS
	3MS	ʔizí	ʔizá
	3FS	ʔizá	ʔizó

A similar syncretism is observed in other Omoto languages such as Wolaitta (cf. Bender in preparation).

4.4 Possessive pronouns

The basic possessive pronouns, *ta*, *ne*, *ʔi*, *nu*, etc shown in Table 4.1 are used in the following manner:

8. *ta nayi* 'my child'
ta máári 'my house'
ta ʔáfinni 'my neighbour'

However, when the possessed noun is modified, the Genitive case marker *-kó* is often attached to the possessive pronoun.

9. *taa-kó lamʔó naattó* 'my two children'
taa-kó haitsó mááro 'my three houses'
taa-kó ʔoiddó ʔáfinnó 'my four neighbours'

As in nouns, the suffix *-kó* is optional and it emphasizes the noun to which it is attached (cf. Chapter Three).

Possessive nouns are formed by adding one of the nominalizer suffixes *-ró* or *-ssi* to the Genitive pronouns. Thus we have:

10. *taa-ró* 'mine' *taa-ssi* 'mine'
nee-ró 'yours' *nee-ssi* 'yours'

As will be shown in Chapter Eight, the suffix *-ró* is also used as a reason clause marker. It seems that this suffix originally served as a peripheral case marker expressing Dative or Beneficial. (Synchronically, the Dative is marked by *-m*, as shown in Chapter Three.) This can be seen from the slight meaning difference between independent possessive nouns with *-ró* and *-ssi*. The difference between these two involves expressing known and unknown possession. For example, as a response for the questions in (11a-b) below, either (12a) or (12b) can be given.

- 11a. *hayí ʔoo-ró d-á-y* 'Whose is this?'
 this:NOM who-GEN:NMZ₁ BE-IPF-Q
- 11b. *hayí ʔoo-ssi d-á-y* 'Whose is this?'
 this:NOM who-GEN:NMZ₂ BE-IPF-Q

- 12a. **hayí** **ʔintsi-ró-ke** 'This is yours/This is for you'
 this:NOM 2PL:ABS-GEN:NMZ₁-BE:A:DCL
- 12b. **hayí** **ʔintsi-ssí-ke** 'This is yours'
 this:NOM 2PL:ABS-GEN:NMZ₂-BE:A:DCL

(12a) expresses a first statement that something belongs to somebody. It is appropriate, for example, if said by somebody who has divided something among several people and then lets the people know what belongs to whom. He declares what is going to be in somebody's possession from the utterance time onwards. On the other hand by saying (12b) the speaker expresses his knowledge of the situation. He confirms to the addressees, who claim/believe that the object in question belongs to them, that he too knows/accepts this fact. The following two sentences further illustrate this distinction.

- 13a. **né** **ne** **mes'ápp-ó** **ʔóó-m** **ʔing-é-y**
 2SG:NOM 2SG:GEN book-ABS who-DAT give-PF-Q
tá **taa-ssi** **israʔel-m** **ʔing-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ₂ Israel-DAT give-PF-A:DCL
 'To whom did you give your book? I gave mine to Israel'
 (*taaró)
- 13b. **hánnó** **mas'ápp-éll-ó tá** **dóngi tám-mi-na** **fank'-é-ne**
 this:F:ABS book-F-ABS 1SG:NOM five ten-INST buy-PF-A:DCL
may-í **taa-ró-ke** **ʔizá**
 return-CNV 1SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ₁-BE:A:DCL 3FS:NOM
 'I bought this book for fifty Birr. From now on, it is mine'
 ? (taassi)

The following table represents a summary of dependent and independent possessive pronouns.

Table 4.2 Possessive pronominals

	GEN ₁	GEN ₂	GEN:NMZ ₁	GEN:NMZ ₂
1SG	ta	taa-kó	taa-ró	taa-ssi
2SG	ne	nee-kó	nee-ró	nee-ssi
3MS	ʔizá	ʔiza-ko	ʔiza-ro	ʔizá-ssi
3FS	ʔizó	ʔizo-ko	ʔizó-ro	ʔizó-ssi
1PL	nu	nuu-ko	nuu-ró	nuu-ssi
2PL	ʔintsi	ʔintsi-ko	ʔintsi-ro	ʔintsi-ssi
3PL	ʔiyátó	ʔiyátó-ko	ʔiyátó-ro	ʔiyátó-ssi

4.4 pe: logophoric or reflexive?

The list of Maale pronouns at the beginning of this Chapter contains a separate column for the pronoun **pe** which is used only in the third person. This pronoun occurs only when there is a co-referential third person subject in the same sentence. It cannot be used co-referentially across sentences. Formally, **pe** partly behaves in a parallel way to the other basic pronouns. That is, like other basic pronouns, in the Absolutive it takes the morphemes **-n-** and **á**. Like basic pronouns, the Genitive and the Absolutive cases of **pe** are distinguished by tone: the former with a low tone and the latter with a high tone. However, unlike other basic pronouns **pe** does not have a Nominative form and cannot occur as subject of a sentence.

Functionally, **pe** may appear as a reflexive pronoun. In the following sentences, a reflexive reading may be appropriate.

- 14a. ʔiyátá péná naʔk-á-ne
 3PL:NOM 3LOG like-IPF-A:DCL
 'They like themselves' (i.e., 'they are selfish/egoistic')

- 14b. ʔizi péná ʔark'-é-ne
 3MS:NOM 3LOG hit-PF-A:DCL
 'He hit himself'

Like reflexive pronouns, **pe-** cannot be used when Subject and Object refer to different referents. Compare:

- 15a. *ʔízi ʔízá ɓark'-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3MS:ABS hit-PF-A:DCL
 'He_i hit him_i'

- 15b. *ʔízi péná ɓark'-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3LOG:ABS hit-PF-A:DCL
 'He_i hit him_j' (i.e. 'He hit himself')

In the above example, the pronoun *pe* is in the Absolutive form, i.e., with the suffixes *-n-* and *-á*. In the context of this example, the Absolutive form of first and second person pronouns is used as shown in the following sentences:

- 16a. *táání táná ɓark'-é-ne*
 1SG:NOM 1SG:ABS hit-PF-A:DCL
 'I hit myself (=I hit me)'

- 16b. *núúní núná ɓark'-é-ne*
 1PL:NOM 1PL:ABS hit-PF-A:DCL
 'We hit ourselves (=we hit us)'

It was suggested that for Maale the third person object-form is *ʔízá* and *péna* as illustrated in (15b) is a reflexive pronoun (this same analysis is adopted in other Omoto languages with a parallel construction). However, there is one main reason for arguing against such an analysis of *pe* in Maale. That is, *pe* occurs as a third person possessive pronoun when the subject of the sentence and the possessive pronoun are co-referential, which will not be possible if *pe* is a reflexive pronoun. When the subject and the possessive pronoun are not co-referential, *pe* cannot be used as a possessive pronoun. Compare:

- 17a. *ʔízi pe máári koff-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3LOG house:ABS repair-IPF-A:DCL
 'He_i is repairing his_j house'

- 17b. *ʔízi ʔízá máári koff-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3MS:GEN house:ABS repair-IPF-A:DCL
 'He_i is repairing his_i house'

Similarly, *pe* occurs with the Dative marker *-m* and with the independent Genitive suffix *-ró*, in both cases as co-referential with the subject. These are shown in example(18a-b) and (19a-b) below respectively.

- 18a. *ʔíza pee-m c'aamme fank'-é-ne*
 3FS:NOM 3LOG-DAT shoes:ABS buy-PF-A:DCL
 'She_i bought shoes for her_i (herself)'

- 18b. *ʔizá ʔizó-m c'aamme ʃank'-é-ne*
 3FS:NOM 3FS:ABS-DAT shoes:ABS buy-PF-A:DCL
 'She_i bought shoes for her_j'

- 19a. *ʔiyátá pee-ró kap-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM 3LOG-GEN:NMZ guard-PF-A:DCL
 'They_i guarded theirs_j'

- 19b. *ʔiyátá ʔiyátó-ró kap-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM 3PL:ABS-GEN:NMZ guard-PF-A:DCL
 'They_i guarded theirs_j'

Furthermore, when an (emphatic) reflexive interpretation is intended, expanded constructions are used instead of the simple *péná*. The first is a phrasal structure involving a Genitive pronoun followed by *tookí* 'head' and the Instrumental marker *-na*.

20. *ʔádé baʔ-uwá-nte tá ta tookí-na*
 father bring-NEG:IPF-SIML 1SG:NOM 1SG:GEN head-INST
baʔ-á-ne
 bring-IPF-A:DCL
 'While my father does not bring (carry out a ritual), I myself do it'

The second means for expressing the reflexive involves the combination of object pronouns with the 'restrictive pronouns' (see below).

- 21a. *núúní núná nuusi wod'-andá-ne*
 1PL:NOM 1PL:ABS 1PL:REST kill-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'We will kill ourselves'
- 21b. *ʔatsí péná peesi bark'-á-ne*
 person:M-NOM 3LOG:ABS 3LOG:REST hit-IPF-A:DCL
 'The man hits himself'

Based on the above features we conclude that, except for one restriction, *pe* is a logophoric pronoun the function of which is to denote identity between the third person subject of the sentence and an Object, Possessive or Dative pronoun in the same sentence. The restriction involves this: in languages which have logophoric pronouns, the latter typically occur as co-referential subjects in reported speech as in: *He_i said HE_i is tired*. If both occurrences of the pronoun 'he' in this sentence designate the same referent, the second of these two pronouns (which is in the embedded sentence) will be represented by a specific pronoun type, known as *logophoric* pronoun; the latter is only used in such co-referential functions. Thus, verbs of reporting and those expressing mental or psychological state which involve 'implicit reporting' are considered to be the main triggering factors for logophoricity

(cf. Stirling 1993). **pe** in Maale, doesn't occur with the quotative verb **geʔ-** 'say'. It is never used as *subject pronoun* of an embedded clause. It may be used as an object or possessive pronoun in a dependent clause which is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. The fact that **pe** is not used in quotative clauses such as *He_i said HE_i is tired* emerges from the non-occurrence of indirect speech forms in Maale. Where one would expect an indirect speech form, Maale speakers only use a direct speech form. (See also Chapter Eight.) Consider the following reported speech:

22. ʔádé ʔammána tá gel-é-ne geʔ-é-ne
 father:NOM mission:ABS 1SG:NOM enter-PF-A:DCL say-PF-A:DCL
 'My father said 'I joined the Christian religion'
 = 'My father said that he became a Christian'

Reflexes of **pe** are found in different Omotic languages: **ba** in Wolaitta; **be** in Gamo (cf. Hompó 1990) ; **pe** in Basketto (Azeb 1994). It is interesting to note that at least one Omotic language, i.e., Bench, uses a similar pronoun **ba**⁴ as a co-referential subject pronoun in the same sentence (i.e., in a direct speech. cf. Breeze 1990). The case of Bench supports the analysis of **pe-** as a logophoric pronoun in Maale.

4.5 Restrictive pronouns

The term restrictive pronouns is used here to refer to a set of Maale pronouns which express meanings parallel to the English: 'I alone', 'you alone', 'she alone', 'he alone', etc. The paradigm of these pronouns is shown below:

23. 1SG **taasi**
 2SG **neesi**
 3P **peesi**
 1PL **nuusi**
 2PL **ʔintsisi**

These Restrictive pronouns are often used with a co-referential subject pronoun.

- 24a. **táání** **s'aabb-ó** **taasi** **kap-á-ne**
 1SG:NOM prison-ABS 1SG:alone guard-IPF-A:DCL
 'I am guarding the prison alone'
- 24b. **ʔízi** **peesi** **ʔááɗ-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM 3LOG:alone go-PF-A:DCL
 'He went alone'

Notice that the restrictive pronouns and 'known independent Genitive pronoun' discussed in section 4.3 above, differ from each other by gemination. The following examples illustrate the contrast:

- 25a. **tá taasi nabab-andá-ne**
 1SG:NOM 1SG:alone read-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'I will read it alone (with out somebody's help)'
- 25b. **ta taassi nabab-andá-ne**
 1SG:NOM mine read-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'I will read mine'

Restrictive pronouns seem to be adverbial in nature. They express the fact that the referent of the pronoun is the only participant in the state event expressed by the verb, excluding other participants.

4.6 Pronouns and peripheral cases

Other than the Nominative, Accusative and Genitive cases, pronouns can also take different peripheral cases. When Dative, Ablative and Instrumental case markers are attached to basic pronouns the vowel of the latter is lengthened. Vowel lengthening takes place also in the Nominative but not in the Absolutive. In the following full paradigms the Nominative and Absolutive pronouns are repeated for comparison.

26.	NOM	ABS	DAT	ABL	INST
1SG	táání	tána	táám	tááppe	táána
2SG	néení	néná	néém	nééppe	nééna
3MS	ʔííní	—	—	—	—
1PL	núúní	núná	núúm	núúppe	núúna

The above forms contrast with secondary pronouns in which no vowel lengthening takes place:

27.	NOM	ABS	DAT	ABL	INST
3MS	ʔízi	ʔízá	ʔízám	ʔízáppe	ʔízána
3FS	ʔízá	ʔízó	ʔízóm	ʔízóppe	ʔízóna
2PL	ʔíntsi	ʔíntsi	ʔíntsim	ʔíntsippe	ʔíntsina
3PL	ʔiyátá	ʔiyátó	ʔiyátóm	ʔiyátóppe	ʔiyátóna

Similarly, when Genitive -ko, possessive nominalizer -ró or -ssi are affixed to basic pronouns, vowel lengthening takes place whereas no change occurs on the basic form when these are affixed to secondary pronouns (see the list in Table 4.2 above).

CHAPTER 5

VERBS

5.1 Verb roots

The CV structure of verb roots in Maale typically contains only one peak. Verb roots with only C structure include predicative verbs. Verb roots with two-peak CV structures are relatively few in number; while three-peak verb roots are unattested. It is noteworthy that those with two-peak CV structures contain verb classes such as motion verbs, e.g. **bunbal-** 'roll over', **gogaik'** 'shiver'; verbs expressing instinctive actions, e.g. **h'yid'f'k-** 'sneeze' and **deefisk-** 'belch', and verbs expressing an emotional state, e.g. **ʔigic'e-** 'fear', **gadánk'** 'curse', **gundum-** 'murmur'. The following two tables summarize the canonical shapes of verb roots:

Table 5.1 CV structure of verb roots in Maale: group one

C	C V	CVC	CVVC
t- 'be' n- 'be' d- 'be'	ʔá- 'exist'	geʔ- 'say' lám- 'repeat' mad- 'work'	ʔáád- 'go' kéér- 'throw' biiʔ- 'smear'
		CVCC	CVVCC
		ʔúc'e- 'wipe' ʃull- 'jump' s'od'd- 'drip'	háík'k'- 'die' c'íʃk- 'be cold' c'uull- 'suffocate'

Table 5.2 CV structure of verb roots in Maale: group two

CVCVC	CVCVCC	CVCCVC (C)-
dakal- 'inherit'	h'ydifk- 'sneeze'	gumʔat- 'kneel'
galat- 'thank'	gumurk'- 'believe'	bunbal- 'roll over'
	gadánk'- 'curse'	gundum- 'murmur'
	CVCVVCC-	CVVCVCC-
	gogaik'k'- 'shiver'	deebisk- 'belch'

As will be shown in the next sections, most verbal affixes begin with a vowel. Thus, when affixation takes place, the above verb root forms can be syllabified differently. (For tone classes in verbs, see Chapter Two.)

In the following sections we discuss morphological and some of the syntactic characteristics of verbs. For this purpose, verb roots are subdivided into two: a) main verbs which take all the inflectional and derivational possibilities in the verb conjugation, and b) predicative 'be' verbs, which occur with a limited number of inflectional markers. Furthermore, these latter type of verbs do not take derivational affixes.

When a main verb form has both derivational and inflectional affixes, these affixes occur in the following order:

VERB ROOT-DERIVATIONAL AFFIX- INFLECTIONAL AFFIX

Within derivational or inflectional affixes, each morpheme has a fixed slot (see below).

5.2 Verb root extension

5.2.1 Causatives

Maale has productive, morphological causatives as well as periphrastic causatives. The productive causative verb stem is derived by affixing **-is** - or **-if-** to the verb root. Except in some verb roots which end in **s'**, **z**, or **ts**, these two suffixes are freely interchangeable in all other verbs. Thus:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|-----------|---------------------------|
| 1. | dod-is- | or | dod-if- | 'make strong, fat, plump' |
| | dumm-is- | or | dumm-if- | 'make dark' |
| | fanc-is- | or | fanc-if- | 'make sell' |
| | mad-is- | or | mad-if- | 'make work' |
| | fank'-is- | or | fank'-if- | 'make buy' |
| | yenk'-is- | or | yenk'-if- | 'make look after cattle' |

In verb roots ending in s', z, ts, however, informants prefer the -is- suffix to -if-. The following are examples:

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 2. | Preferred | Less preferred | |
| | pis's'-is- | pis's'-if | 'make sweep' |
| | keezz-is- | keezz-if | 'make tell' |
| | ʃok'its-is- | ʃok'its-if- | 'make remember' |
| | k'áss-is- | k'ass-if- | 'make add' |
| | pizz-is- | pizz-if- | 'make straight' |

The preference of the causative marker -is- with roots ending in alveolar sibilants s', s, z involves a word structure condition in which two sibilants in a word tend to be identical in palatalization. In some Omotic languages including Aari, Zayse, Bench, co-occurrence of alveolar and palatal sibilants is strictly avoided (cf. Hayward 1988). In Maale this co-occurrence restriction is not obligatory, as demonstrated in (2) above. Examples in (3) below illustrate that verb roots ending in palatal sibilants can also take a causative suffix with an alveolar sibilant.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|-----------|----------------|
| 3. | haff-is- | or | haff-if- | 'make give up' |
| | ʔaacc-is- | or | ʔaacc-if- | 'make hide' |

With some (frequently used?) verbs the causative suffix -is- can optionally be realized as -z-.

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|----|--------|--------------|
| 4. | ʔol-is- | or | ʔol-z- | 'make fight' |
| | gel-is- | or | gel-z- | 'make enter' |
| | ʔer-is- | or | ʔer-z- | 'make know' |
| | dárʔ-is- | or | dar-z- | 'tear (tr.)' |

All of the verb roots in (4) above which take causative -z- end in liquids. However, this does not seem to be a systematic phonological criteria since there are also verb roots which end in liquids in which the causative suffix -is- is not changed to -z-. The following are examples of this latter type.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----------------------------------|-----------|
| 5. | mal-is- | 'cause to think/cause to worry' | *mal-z- |
| | teel-is- | 'cause to become hot (of metal)' | *teel-z- |
| | sar-is- | 'make snatch' | *sar-z- |
| | k'iir-is- | 'make jealous' | *k'iir-z- |

In verb roots ending in **-t**, the vowel of the causative suffix may be dropped, e.g. **ʔeett-** 'burn' vs. **ʔeet-s-** 'make fire' and **ʔeet-s-is-** 'cause to make fire'.

The causative verb stem may be formed from transitive or intransitive verbs. In the causative of intransitive verb roots, the causative suffix is realized twice. One of these double causative affixes can be regarded as having a transitivizing effect to the intransitive verb.

6.	Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
	burk' - 'boil'	burk'-is-	burk'-is-is-
	kás's' - 'be cooked/ripe'	kat-s-	kat-s-is-
	ʔeett- 'burn (of fire)'	ʔeet-s-	ʔeet-s-is-

The following sentences illustrate the use of the above extended verbs:

- 7a. **waas'-á burk'-á-ne**
 water-NOM boil-IPF-A:DCL
 'The water is boiling'
- 7b. **ʔízi waatsi burk'-is-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM water:ABS boil-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is boiling water'
- 7c. **ʔízi ʔízó waatsi burk'-is-is-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM 3FS:ABS water:ABS boil-CAUS-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'He made her boil water'

Some verb roots make a formal distinction for transitive and intransitive forms. Some of these involve alternation of final consonant, e.g. ejective and non-ejective counterparts of palatal consonants (8a). A few examples are found where reduction of vowel length and verb root final consonant alternation plus the addition of the causative suffix are involved (8b). There are also some examples where different lexical items are used to designate transitive and intransitive verbs, as in (8c) below.

8a.	Intransitive	Transitive
	mic'c' - 'burn'	micc- 'burn sth.'
	ḡéc'c' - 'wake up'	ḡécc- 'wake somebody up'
	ʔigic'c' - 'fear'	ʔigicc- 'make fear, threaten'
8b.	loomm- 'fall'	lont-s- 'let fall' (cf. tong- and keer- 'throw')
	kaamm- 'meet'	kant-s- 'connect points, e.g. of rope'
8c.	foott- 'spill'	laal- 'spill sth.'

The causative form of the above verbs can be formed either from the intransitive or the transitive root. The choice of one or the other of these depends on whether the subject noun is a 'personally involved causer' or 'non-involved causer'. These two

labels are borrowed from Saksena (1982: 2). When the intransitive verb root is used to form a causative verb stem, the causer noun is regarded as directly involved in the action. In this case, the causer noun occurs in the Nominative and the caused noun in the Absolutive. On the other hand, when the causative verb stem is formed using the transitive verb root, the subject noun of the sentence is not personally involved in the action. In these latter causative stem types, there are two causer noun phrases: the indirectly involved causer which occurs in the Nominative case and the directly involved causer which occurs in the Instrumental case (9d). The caused/affected noun in this second type of causative clause occurs in the Absolutive. Compare the following examples with the verbs *mic'c'* - 'burn' and *micc-* 'burn something'.

- 9a. *láádd-á mic'c'-é-ne*
bread-NOM burn-PF-A:DCL
'The bread burned'
- 9b. *Yíiní maatt-ó micc-é-ne*
3MS:NOM grass-ABS burn-PF-A:DCL
'He burned the grass'
- 9c. *Yízí tami gárb-í ?eett-í láádd-ó*
3MS:NOM fire:ABS put_much-CNV₁ burn-CNV₁ bread-ABS
mic'c'-is-é-ne
burn-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
'He made the bread burn by making too much fire under the baking pan'
**micc-é-ne; *micc-is-é-ne*
- 9d. *Yíiní na??-ó-ná taa-kó tiis'-ó*
3MS:NOM child-ABS-INST 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS
micc-is-é-ne
burn-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
'He made the child burn my fence'

The directly involved causer (in the instrumental case) may be dropped as in (10a) below, or it may occur in the Absolutive if a converb is used as in (10b).

- 10a. *Yíiní taa-kó tiis'-ó micc-is-é-ne*
3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS burn-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
'He had my fence burned (by somebody)'
- 10b. *Yíiní na??-ó ?aits-í taa-kó tiis'-ó*
3MS:NOM child-ABS order-CNV₁ 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS

micc-is-é-ne

burn-CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'He had my fence burned by ordering the child to do so'

The intransitive verb stem may also be used to express indirect causation. In this case, the causative suffix occurs twice on the verb. Thus, examples (10a) and (10b) above may be rendered as (11a) and (11b) respectively.

- 11a. **ʔííní taa-kó tiis'-ó mic'c'-is-is-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS burn-CAUS-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'He had my fence burned (by somebody)'

- 11b. **ʔííní naʔʔ-ó ʔaits-i taa-kó tiis'-ó**
 3MS:NOM child-ABS order-CNV₁ 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS

mic'c'-is-is-é-ne

burn-CAUS-CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'He had my fence burned by ordering the child to do so'

The two-way distinction of personally involved causer and non-involved causer which is demonstrated above also has another morphological basis: i.e., some verb roots have two causative stems which differ from each other in the 'involvedness' or in the subject's 'degree of control' on the action expressed by the verb. Consider the following examples:

- 12a. **naʔʔ-á dalk'-ó ʔúfk-é-ne**
 child-NOM soup-ABS drink-PF-A:DCL
 'The child drank the soup'
- 12b. **ʔínd-á naʔʔ-ó dalk'-ó ʔuff-é-ne**
 mother-NOM child-ABS soup-ABS drink:CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'The mother made the child drink the soup'.
- 12c. **ʔínd-á naʔʔ-ó dalk'-ó ʔúfk-is-é-ne**
 mother-NOM child-ABS soup-ABS drink-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'The mother got the child to drink the soup'

The difference between the two causative clauses in (12b) and (12c) above is that in example (12b) the causer controls or forces the action on the caused noun. On the other hand (12c) expresses causation without the causer's complete control but with the will or participation of the caused noun in carrying out the action. The context for the use of these two causative verbs is explicitly stated in the adverbial clauses in the following examples:

- 13a. **naʔʔ-á ʔúfk-uwá-ya t-á-té-ya ʔínd-á**
 child-NOM drink-IPF:NEG:REL-NMZ BE-IPF-CND-NMZ mother-NOM

fifink'-í ʔuff-é-ne

force_feed-CNV₁ drink:CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'Although the child is one who would not drink, the mother forced him to drink'

(*ʔúfk-is-é-ne)

- 13b. **naʔʔ-á peeró ʔark'-í ʔúfk-aní**
 child-NOM 3P_alone hold-CNV₁ drink-PURP

dandaʔ-uwá-tsi-ro ʔind-á ʔúfk-is-é-ne

be_able-IPF:NEG:REL-NMZ-REAS mother-NOM drink-CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'Because the child could not hold and drink by itself, the mother made him drink'

The verb **fifink'** - in example (13a) above expresses the act of force feeding. A similar causative meaning distinction is illustrated below with the verb **késk-** 'go out'.

- 14a. **ba-at-á késk-é-ne**
 cattle-PL-NOM go_out-PF-A:DCL
 'The cattle went out'

- 14b. **ʔííní ba-at-ó karr-ó búll-í haff-í**
 3MS:NOM cattle-PL-ABS door-ABS open-CNV₁ give_up-CNV₁

késk-is-é-ne

get_out_CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'He caused the cattle to go out by leaving the door open'

(? kesséne)

- 14c. **ʔííní ba-at-ó karr-ó búll-í ʔif-í**
 3MS:NOM cattle-PL-ABS door-ABS open-CNV₁ drive-CNV₁

kess-é-ne

get_out:CAUS-PF-A:DCL

'He made the cattle go out by opening the door and by driving them out'

(? késkiséne)

When the subject is not expected to affect the realisation of the action expressed in the verb, the causative form which expresses a higher degree of control by the subject is not used. Thus:

- 15a. **ʔízá máccá kófk-é-ne**
 3MS:GEN wife-NOM be_good-PF-A:DCL
 'His wife became good'

- 15b. *ʒízi mácc-ó ɓark'-í kóʃk-is-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM wife-ABS beat-CNV₁ be_good-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'He caused his wife to be good by beating her (she came/learned to be good)'

But:

- 15c. ? *ʒízi mácc-ó ɓark'-í koff-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM wife-ABS beat-CNV₁ be good:CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 ? 'He made his wife good by beating her'

(15c) is 'anomalous' because it entails that the agent (*ʒízi*) changed his wife's character all by himself, without her doing anything about it. Thus, both the degree of control of the subject as well as the will of the object may determine the choice of the causative verb. For example, in impersonal/experiencer verbs in which the object is a mere recipient of the action, the causative verb used is the one in which the subject has a high degree of control. Note the contrast in the (a) and (b) forms in the following two examples (on case marking in these examples, see Chapter Nine).

- 16a. *táání sóoge naʃk-uwá-se*
 1SG:NOM salt:ABS like-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'I do not like salt'
- 16b. *sóogé táná naʃf-uwá-se*
 salt:NOM 1SG:ABS like:CAUS-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'I do not like salt / salt does not agree with me'
- 17a. *táání móóti naʃk-á-ne*
 1SG:NOM argument:ABS like-IPF-A:DCL
 'I like arguing'
- 17b. *móóti táná naʃf-á-ne*
 argument:NOM 1SG:ABS like:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'I like arguing / Arguing makes me happy'

All verb roots with the two-way causative verb distinction end in the velar consonant **-k**. In the following list of such verbs, we refer to personally involved causative verbs as Causative₁ and non-involved causatives as Causative₂. Note that where the basic verb root and the Causative₁ verb stem have high tone, Causative₂ has low tone:

18.	Vb.root	Causative ₁	Causative ₂
	<i>kóʃk-</i> 'be good'	<i>kóʃk-is-</i>	<i>koff-</i>
	<i>ʒúʃk-</i> 'drink'	<i>ʒúʃk-is-</i>	<i>ʒuff-</i>
	<i>c'íʃk-</i> 'be cold'	<i>c'íʃk-is-</i>	<i>c'íʃf-</i>
	<i>gééʃk-</i> 'clean'	<i>gééʃk-is</i>	<i>geeff-</i>
	<i>c'óóʃk-</i> 'vomit'	<i>c'óóʃk-is-</i>	<i>c'ooʃf-</i>
	<i>míʃk-</i> 'be saturated'	<i>míʃk-is-</i>	<i>míʃf-</i>

ɓaʃk-	'run'	ɓaʃk-is-	ɓaʃʃ-
késk-	'go out'	késk-is-	kess-
naʃk-	'like'	naʃk-is-	naʃʃ-

The following verb roots also end in a velar consonant, but these do not make the two-way causative meaning distinction. There seems to be a semantic reason for this restriction.

19.	Verb root	Causative
	goʃk 'plough'	goʃk-is- *goʃʃ-
	giʃk 'divide'	giʃk-is- *giʃʃ-
	kaaʃk 'worship'	kaaʃk-is- *kaaʃʃ-
	kááʃk 'be pregnant, of cattle'	kááʃk-is- *kaaʃʃ-
	tijʃk 'smear'	tijʃk-is- *tijʃʃ-
	c'aʃk 'insult'	c'aʃk-is- *c'aʃʃ-

The velar consonant seems to be a relic of a once productive derivational morpheme (cf. however, Hayward 1984, who analyses verb root final -k in Koyra as a fossilized old Perfective marker, i.e., an inflectional marker).

Maale also has 'periphrastic causatives' involving two clauses, but with no causative suffix. In such constructions, the verb *wot-* 'make, do' occurs in the main clause and the caused event is expressed by the verb in the dependent clause. Both the causer and caused nouns occur in the Nominative case (20a). The following are examples:

- 20a. *táání* *ʔííní* *bookk-ó* *ʔáád-andá* *gudi* *wot-é-ne*
 1SG:NOM 3MS:NOM market-ABS go-F:IPF COMP make-PF-A:DCL
 'I made him go to the market'
- 20b. *kaní* *ba-at-ó* *daus-andá* *gudi* *wot-íppo*
 dog:NOM cattle-PL-ABS chase-F:IPF COMP make-NEG:IMP
 'Don't make the dog chase the cattle'

5.2.2 *The reflexive, reciprocal and passive*

Reciprocal and passive verb stems are derived by affixing *-int-* to the verb root. The reflexive is morphologically marked on the verb only in a few verb roots. Reflexives will be discussed at the end of this section. First, we illustrate in (21) below the structure of the reciprocal and passive constructions:

- 21a. *kan-z-í* *gudurí-na* *múʔ-int-é-ne*
 dog-DF-NOM hyena:ABS-INST eat-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog is eaten by a hyena'

- 21b. **ʔiyátá woli bád'-ínt-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM each other hit-RECP-PF-A:DCL
 'They hit each other'

- 21c. **ʔiyátá wolla kónk'-ínt-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM together embrace-RECP-PF-A:DCL
 'They embraced each other'

Despite their morphological identity the passive and reciprocal verb stems can be distinguished syntactically. That is, the passive often involves an agentive noun phrase with the Instrumental case whereas the reciprocal often occurs with **woli** 'each other' or **wolla** 'together'. However, when these optional categories are dropped, the sentence can be ambiguous, as illustrated below.

- 22a. **ʔiyátá yérk'-ínt-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM kiss-RECP-PF-A:DCL
 'They kissed each other'

- 22b. **ʔiyátá yérk'-ínt-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM kiss-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'They are kissed (by somebody)'

Given the right context, the subject of a passive verb can be omitted:

23. **gudúri-na múʔ-ínt-é-ne**
 hyena-INST eat-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'It was eaten by a hyena'

The passive/reciprocal and causative derivational affixes may be combined. In this case, the order of morphemes is: Passive/Reciprocal-Causative, as illustrated in the following example:

24. **ʔizá naʔʔ-ó ʔááf-ínt-is-é-ne**
 3FS:NOM child-ABS hide-PAS-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'She had the child hidden'

The passive/reciprocal suffix **-ínt-** derives experiencer verbs:

25. **táání d'eeb-ínt-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM be thirsty-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'I am thirsty'

Other experiencer verbs with **-ínt-** are:

26. **gúʔ-ínt-** 'be unhappy (of children crying continuously)'
ʃaakk-ínt- 'abhor, loath'
harp-ínt- 'tremble (only of leg)'
bárd-ínt- 'tremble, be convulsed (of whole body)'

- zíl-int-** 'be weary'
bors-int- 'be ashamed'
yerf-int- 'be proud of, rely on'
mats-int- 'be drunk'

Non-experiencer verbs which take **-int-** as a formative are given in (27) below. The simple, underived verb root form of two of these verbs cannot be used as an independent verb. This is indicated by (*) in the data given in brackets.

27. **buk-int-** 'gather, e.g. of a meeting' (cf. ***buk-**; but: **buk-is-** 'assemble')
geek'-int- 'lean on sth.' (cf. ***geek'-**; but: **geek'-is-** 'make lean')
dab-int- 'err' (cf. **dab-** 'err; miss a target in shooting')

Similarly, most of the derived forms in (26) above do not have basic, non-derived verb roots. Thus, we do not find ***gúlf-**, ***dëeb-**, etc. followed immediately by other verbal derivational suffixes or by an inflectional marker. However, some have cognate nominal forms without the **-int-** suffix:

28. **dëebi** 'thirst'
metó 'problem'

As discussed in Chapter Four, the reflexive is mainly expressed by syntactic means, i.e., through the use of pronouns without morphological marking on the verb. The following example illustrates this:

29. **lamʔó ʔas-á péná péési wod-é-ne**
 two person-NOM 3LOG 3REST kill-PF-A:DCL
 'Two people killed themselves'

However, in a handful of verbs, the reflexive may be morphologically marked on the verb. In this case the morpheme used is **-t-**. The affixation of **-t-** may involve tone and/or verb root final consonant alternation. Because of this, in this study the morpheme boundary is not marked in the reflexive verb stem. It may be suggested that the reflexive **-t-** is a shortened form of the passive marker **-int-**. In the present analysis this possibility is left open. Compare the morphologically marked reflexive verb in (30c) below with the basic verb root (30a) and the passive in (30b):

- 30a. **ʔííní naʔʔ-ó ʔóisi-na tíʔk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM child-ABS butter:ABS-INST smear-PF-A:DCL
 'He smeared the child with butter'
 30b. **naʔʔ-á ʔóy-ó-na tíʔk-int-é-ne**
 child-NOM butter-ABS-INST smear-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The child was smeared with butter'

- 30c. **naʔʔ-á ʔóy-ó bookk-í tíft-é-ne**
 child-NOM butter-ABS dig-CNV₁ smear:REFL-PF-A:DCL
 'The child took the butter with his finger and smeared himself with it'
 (*tífk-ínt-é-ne)

In (30c) the verb **tíft-** cannot be replaced by **tífk-ínt-**. The former denotes that the agent/effector noun also functions as a patient/affected object whereas with **tífk-ínt-** agent/effector and patient should be distinct. A similar distinction is made for the verb **mask-** 'wash', as in:

- 31a. **ʔízá naʔʔ-ó mask-é-ne**
 3FS:NOM child-ABS wash-PF-A:DCL
 'She washed the child'
- 31b. **ʔízí waas'-aa s'ub-í s'ub-í mást-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM water-LOC swim-CNV₁ swim-CNV₁ wash:REFL-PF-A:DCL
 'He washed himself while swimming in the water'
 (*mask-ínt-é-ne)
- 31c. **ʔízá mask-aní gaʔ-áza naʔʔ-á ʔis's'-uwá-áʔʔo**
 3FS:NOM wash-PURP say-TEMP₁ child-NOM refuse-IPF:NEG-CNV₂
mask-ínt-é-ne
 wash-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'When she wanted to wash him, the child got washed by her without refusing'
 (*mást-é-ne)

In some cases the reflexive or the passive verb stem may be used to describe the same situation, as in (32b) and (32c). However, this entails a slight meaning difference.

- 32a. **ʔaakúmm-átsí ʔízá c'arg-é-ne**
 doctor-M:NOM 3MS:ABS stab-PF-A:DCL
 'The doctor gave him an injection (lit. The doctor stabbed him)'
- 32b. **ʔííní tiis'-ó-na gel-á-ne geʔ-í ʔangítsi-na**
 3MS:NOM fence-ABS-INST enter-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ thorn:ABS-INST
c'arg-ínt-é-ne
 stab-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'He got stabbed by thorns while trying to enter through the shrub fence'
- 32c. **ʔííní tiis'-ó-na gel-á-ne geʔ-í ʔangítsi-na**
 3MS:NOM fence-ABS-INST enter-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ thorn:ABS-INST
c'átt-é-ne
 stab:REFL-PF-A:DCL

'He stabbed himself with thorns while trying to enter through the shrub fence (this is his fault)'

The difference in sentences (32b) and (32c) is that, in the latter, in addition to the agent/effector noun in the Instrumental case, the patient (unintentionally or by negligence) contributed to the action effected upon it.

The passive may be derived by adding *-int-* to the reflexive verb stem. Such a sentence is interpreted in either of the following two slightly distinct ways. Firstly, the subject/patient noun acts upon itself because circumstances forced him/her to do so. This is illustrated below in (33a) with the reflexive-passive verb stem *tíft-int-* 'smear oneself against one's will' which is derived from *tífk-* 'smear'. Secondly, the reflexive-passive verb stem may also express that the patient lets somebody else act upon him/herself, as illustrated in (33b) and (33c) below with *c'átt-int-* 'let oneself be stabbed/injected' which is derived from the verb root *c'arg-* 'stab' and *túútt-int-* 'let oneself be tied/imprisoned', which is derived from *túkk-* 'tie' respectively.

- 33a *kás's'-é* *?óisi-na* *tíft-int-é-ne* *gonte*
ripe-PF:REL butter:ABS-INST smear:REFL-PAS-PF-A:DCL however

za??-andá-sinway

stink-F:IPF-DUB

'(I) had to smear myself with old butter but (do you think) it would stink?'

- 33b. *maati* *d'eefa* *?úfk-ondó-nte* *narp-ó* *gúri*
grass:ABS medicine:ABS drink-P:IPF-PRVN needle-ABS empty

c'átt-int-é-ne

stab:REFL-PAS-PF-A:DCL

'While I should have used traditional medicine effectively, I got myself to be treated by the doctor without result'

- 33c. *mina* *?eeyy-um-ó-na* *túútt-int-é-ne* *hinda*
earlier innocent-NMZ-ABS-INST tie:REFL-PAS-PF-A:DCL INTJ

?áári *táná* *túkk-óngó*

yet 1SG:ABS tie-3:OPT

'In earlier times, because of my innocence I let myself be imprisoned; now let someone dare to imprison me and see what I would do!'

As demonstrated in examples (30-33) above, in some verbs, the reflexive, the passive/reciprocal, and the reflexive-passive verb stems are morphologically distinct. These verbs are listed in (34) below. Verbs which exhibit the same formal distinctions but for which we do not have illustrative examples demonstrating their use in the reflexive are put in a separate column with a question mark. Further text-based study may determine their status.

34.	Vb root	Reflexive	?Refl/Passive	Refl-Passive ₂	Passive/Reciprocal
	tíjk-	tíjt	_____	tíjt-int	tíjk-int- 'smear'
	mask-	mást-	_____	mást-int	mask-int 'wash'
	mar-	márt-	_____	márt-int-	mar-int- 'be wrapped'
	túkk-	túútt-	_____	túútt-int	túkk-int- 'tie'
	c'arg-	c'átt-	_____	c'átt-int-	c'arg-int- 'stab'
	k'ur-	k'úrt-	_____	?k'úrt-int-	k'ur-int- 'isolate (of cattle)'
	gíjk-	gíjt-	_____	gíjt-int-	gíjk-int- 'divide'
	zor-	zórt-	_____	zórt-int-	zor-int- 'advise'
	zúr-	zúrt-	_____	zúrt-int-	zúr-int- 'entertain'
	?ur-	?úrt-	_____	*?úrt-int-	?ur-int- 'pierce'
	gójk-	gójt-	_____	*gójt-int-	gójk-int- 'plough, farm'

For some verbs in the above list, the reflexive-passive verb stem does not exist, as the forms preceded by a question mark or by (*) indicate. Some of these, e.g. *gójt-int- seem to be unacceptable or anomalous for semantic reasons. Notice that most of the verb roots in the list end in -k or -g, which, as we already mentioned in section 5.1.1 represent an archaic morpheme. Thus, the marking of the reflexive only in a few verbs may be a remnant morphology of a once productive system. It should also be noted that the reflexive and reflexive-passive have a different tone pattern from the basic verb root and the regular passive: basic verb roots with low tone are changed to high tone in the reflexive and reflexive-passive forms. In (35) below, further examples are presented illustrating the basic and derived stems in the above four columns. The verb root used in these examples is *mar-* 'wrap around'.

- 35a. súz-á géme mar-é-ne
 rope-NOM ox:ABS wrap-PF-A:DCL
 'The rope wrapped around the ox'
 (*márténe, *mártinténe, *marinténe)
- 35b. géme súz-ó-na márt-é-ne
 ox:NOM rope-ABS-INST wrap_up:REFL-PF-A:DCL
 'The ox entangled itself with the rope'
 (*maréne, *mártinténe, *marinténe)
- 35c. Jóó33-átsi márt-é-ne
 snake-M:NOM wrap_up-PF-A:DCL
 'The snake coiled up'
 (*maréne, *mártinténe, *marinténe)
- 35d. na??-á súz-ó-na ?amall-á-ne ge?-i
 child-NOM rope-ABS-INST play-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁

márt-int-é-ne

wrap-PAS-PF-A:DCL

'The child got himself wrapped up with the rope while it was trying to play'
(márt-é-ne, mar-int-é-ne)

- 35e. kéés'-ó-ko bóókal-átsí mar-int-é-ne
house-ABS-GEN purlin-M:NOM wrap-PAS-PF-A:DCL
'The (*thin*) purlin of the house is put around it'
(*márténe, *mártínténe *maréne)

Where the main verb in the above sentences cannot be replaced with one or the other of the three verb stem types shown in (34) above, we have indicated this by putting (*) before the verb stems given in brackets. In each case the ungrammaticality of the sentence with the verbs marked with (*) relates to case roles. For example, in (35a) the verb **mar-é-ne** cannot be replaced by **márténe** because this would require that there be an animate subject noun which functions as agent/effector as well as patient, as is the case in (35b and c) above. Furthermore, **márténe** may occur with an Instrumental noun, e.g. **súz-ó-na** 'with the rope' as in (35b) but not with the Absolutive form **súzó** 'the rope'. Similarly **mártínténe** cannot be used in (35a) above since this verb stem too requires that agent and patient be designated by the same form. In addition to this, as in the case of **tíftínt-** and **mástínt-** above, the meaning of **mártínt-** also indicates that *no will or intention* of the agent/effector noun is involved.

5.2.3 The infinitive

The infinitive form is derived by suffixing the morpheme **-itsi** to verb roots.

36.	Vb. root	Infinitive	
	kóʔ-	kóʔ-itsi	'search'
	ʔééll-	ʔééll-itsi	'call'
	mal-	mal-itsi	'think'
	korg-	korg-itsi	'dance'
	koom-	koom-itsi	'jump'

The following is an illustrative sentence.

37. ʔízi paid-itsi tamaar-á-ne
3MS:NOM count-INF learn-IPF-A:DCL
'He is learning to read'

Like other nominals, the infinitival form is inflected for case (38). However, unlike other nominals, infinitivals do not take number markers.

- 38a. **dik'att-is'-á** **gest-is'-ó** **baf-é-ne**
 be surprised-INF-NOM speak-INF-ABS surpass-PF-A:DCL
 'Astonishment keeps him from speaking'
- 38b. **ʔííní** **wúúk'k'-is'-ó-na** **bors-ínt-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM steal-INF-ABS-INST be_ashamed-PAS-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is ashamed of (the) stealing' (i.e. 'He is ashamed of having stolen')

5.2.4 *The intensive*

The intensive verb stem is formed by reduplication of the initial CV of the verb root. This form is very frequently used in conversations. It is used with all aspect types and in various sentence forms: statements, questions, and in complement clauses.

- 39a. **ʔííní** **hátsi ʔóʔóʃitt-á- ne**
 3MS:NOM now cough:INT-IPF-A:DCL
 'Now he is coughing a lot' (ʔóʃitt- 'cough, have common cold')
- 39b. **ʔádé** **táná** **ʃark'-aní ga-aza** **táání**
 father:NOM 1SG:ABS beat-PURP say-TEMP₁ 1SG:NOM
ʃáʃáʃk-é-ne
 run:INT-PF-A:DCL
 'When my father wanted to beat me, I ran hard'

Consider also the contrast between the following question forms. In these forms the 'intensive' seems to express surprise or counter expected states.

- 40a. **ʔííní** **wó-dd-é-y**
 3MS:NOM Q-VBZ-PF-Q
 'What did he do?'
- 40b. **búll-é-ne**
 untie-PF-A:DCL
 'He untied it'
- 41a. **ʔííní** **wówó-dd-é-y**
 3MS:NOM what do-PF-Q
 'What did he really do?'
- 41b. **búbúll-é-ne**
 open:INT-PF-A:DCL
 'He untied it completely!'

5.2.5 *The inchoative*

The inchoative in Maale can be formed by one of the following three means. First, by affixing verbal inflectional markers to verb roots which seem to be derived from adjectives or nouns; in some cases, this may involve tonal or word-final consonant alternation. Secondly, by means of the affixation of *-ád-* to the noun or adjective. Thirdly, by attaching *-at-* to the base of the noun or adjective. Inchoative meanings can also be expressed periphrastically (see section 5.3). Some adjectives allow just for one of the three morphological possibilities mentioned. Others may form their inchoative by using any two of the three possibilities and exclude a third possibility. There is even one example demonstrating that all of the three possibilities might be used to verbalize an adjective. Each of these cases is discussed in turn.

The following examples illustrate the first possibility: i.e., the adjective and inchoative verb forms have the same base. Except for tonal alternation in some verbs, there is no additional derivational affix added to the inchoative form.

42.	dódi	'strong'	dod-é-ne	'became strong'
			be strong-PF-A:DCL	
	púrta	'bad'	purt-é-ne	'became bad, spoiled'
	pízze	'straight'	pizz-é-ne	'became straight'
	mélzi	'dry'	mel-é-ne	'became dry'
	s'áád'i	'dry (of mud)'	s'aad-é-ne	'became dry'
	gárci	'old'	garc-é-ne	'became old'
	felé?e	'light'	fele?-é-ne	'became light'
	c'ol?e	'green'	c'ol?-é-ne	'became green'

The following is a list of adjectives which take the inchoative marker *-ád-* or *-at-* but which cannot occur as verb roots without these suffixes.

43.	kaati	'king'	kaat-ád-	kaat-at-	'become king' (*kaat-é-ne)
	c'inc'i	'witty'	c'inc'-ád-	c'inc'-at-	'become witty' (*c'inc'-é-ne)
	gófi	'belly'	goḡ-ád-	goḡ-at-	'become pregnant' (*goḡ-é-ne)

The fact that the above adjectives may take either of the two suffixes without this causing any meaning difference may suggest that *-ád-* and *-at-* have an identical meaning and distribution. However, there are adjectives which take only the inchoative marker *-ád-* but not *-at-*, as the list in (44a) shows. Conversely, those in (44b) only take *-at-* but not *-ád-*. Notice also that the adjectives in (44a-b) do not have corresponding verb roots which can take verbal inflectional markers directly. This can be seen from the forms marked with (*)

44a.	bels'i	'lazy'	bels'-ád-	'become lazy'	*bels'-at-é-ne; *bels'-é-ne
	k'ara	'good'	k'ar-ád-	'become good'	*k'ar-at-é-ne; *k'ar-é-ne
	púrta	'bad'	púrt-ád-	'become bad'	*púrt-at-é-ne; ?púrt-é-ne

- 44b. **dégge** 'young' **dégg-at-** 'become young' ***dégg-ád-é-ne**; ***dégg-é-ne**
kupi 'poor' **kup-at-** 'become poor' ***kup-ád-é-ne**; ***kup-é-ne**
gárci 'old' **gárc-at-** 'become old' ***gárc-ád-é-ne**; ***gárc-é-ne**

c'olʔe 'green' is the only example we have of an adjective which may take **-ád-**, **-at-** or occur as inchoative verb without any of these two verbalizing suffixes. Consider the Perfective form of the derived inchoative verbs below.

45. **c'olʔe** 'green'
c'olʔ-é-ne 'became green, of environment'
c'olʔ-ád-é-ne 'became green, of environment'
c'olʔ-at-é-ne 'became green, of environment'

That some adjectives first have to be verbalized by affixation of **-ád-** or **-at-** while other adjectives can function as verbs by directly taking verbal inflectional markers suggests that there is a hierarchy of adjectives. Those which need a verbalizing suffix to be used as inchoative verbs can be regarded as more 'independent' adjectives. Furthermore, the variations and restrictions on the choice of the inchoative suffixes **-ád-** and **-at-** suggest that there might have been a semantic or structural distinction involved between these morphemes. Synchronically, however, such a distinction is not clear; all the words (42) through (45) express 'entering into a certain state'.

Inchoative verbs can be transitivized or causativized by adding the suffix **-is-**. Consider the following forms:

46. **dum-ád-itsi** 'to isolate one self' (cf. **dumi** 'different')
dum-á-s-itsi 'to distinguish'

As the last word in (46) above shows, when the verbalizing morpheme **-ád-** is followed by the causative morpheme **-is-** there is reduction in form. Thus: **-ád-** + **-is-** = **-ás-**. Other examples:

47. **kis'-á-s-é-ne** 'cause to get wounds' (**kitsi** 'wound')
ʔákk-á-s-é-ne 'make become new' (**ʔákki** 'new'; **ʔákkád'inténe** 'is renewed')
luug-á-s-é-ne 'make become narrow, thin' (**luuga** 'narrow')
keel-á-s-é-ne 'make a hand dip into liquid' (**keelli** 'finger')

In table 5.3 a summary of inchoative verb forms is presented.

Table 5.3 Inchoative Verbs

Adjective	Verb root slightly different from adj.	Verb root and adj. identical; without verbalizer	Adj. takes verbalizing suffix:	
			-ád-	-at-
c'olʔe 'green'	—	c'olʔ-éne	c'olʔ-ád-	c'olʔ-at-
kúmútsi 'full'	kumm-	—	—	—
ʒaaʒi 'crazy'	ʒaaʃk-	—	—	—
seelo 'shy'	selk'-	—	—	—
k'amítsi 'short'	k'amik'k'-	—	—	—
ʔodossi 'tall'	ʔodok'k'-	—	—	—
ʃíicci 'soft'	ʃíitt-	—	ʃíic'-ád-	—
c'anci 'bitter'	c'ank'-	—	c'anc'-ád-	—
kíntsi 'dirty'	kink'-	—	kíns'-ád-	—
ʃimme 'cold'	—	ʃimm-éne	—	—
solke 'sour'	—	solk-éne	—	—
ʔaatsi 'sweet'	—	ʔáás's'-éne	—	—
dódi 'strong, hard'	—	dod-éne	—	—
melzi 'dry'	—	mel-éne	—	—
wóʔʔi 'wet'	—	wóʔʔ-éne	—	—
ʔoidi 'hot'	—	ʔoid-éne	—	—
s'íik'k'o 'v. small'	—	s'íik'k'-éne	—	—
níik'k'o 'v. small'	—	níik'k'-éne	—	—
ǵákka 'small'	—	ǵakk-éne	—	—
kunʔe 'narrow'	—	kunʔ-éne	—	—
hakki 'far'	—	hakk-éne	—	—
dalgi 'wide'	—	dalg-éne	—	—
ʔandirk'i 'stout'	—	ʔandirk'-éne	—	—

púrta 'bad'	—	purt-éne	purt-ád-	—
boore 'white'	—	boor-éne	boor-ád-	—
zok'k'e 'red'	—	zok'k'-éne	zok'k'-ád-	—
deetsi 'heavy'	—	dees's'-éne	dees's'-ád-	—
s'aad'i 'dry of earth'	—	s'aad-éne	s'aad-ád-	—
túni 'blunt'	—	tun-éne	tun-ád-	—
mízaǂǂi 'beautiful'	—	mízaǂǂ-éne	mízaǂǂ-ád-	—
gúútsi 'small, skin'	—	gúús's'-éne	gúús's'-ád-	—
ʔúkki 'near'	—	ʔúkk-éne	ʔúkk-ád-	—
mánki 'very big'	—	mank-éne	mánk-ád-	—
púúpi 'big'	—	púúp-éne	púúp-ád-	—
dicci 'fat of humans'	—	dic'c'-éne	dic'c'-ád-	—
ʃencénni 'thin'	—	ʃenc-éne	ʃencenn-ád-	—
gándi 'thick object'	—	gand-éne	gánd-ád-	—
gúri 'empty'	—	gur-éne	gúr-ád-	—
gimpi 'old'	—	gimp-éne	—	gímp-át
ʔááʔʔe 'raw, green'	—	ʔááʔʔ-éne	—	ʔááʔʔ-at-
haami 'tactful'	—	—	—	haam-at-
d'égge 'high, adult'	—	—	—	d'egg-at-
kupa 'poor'	—	—	—	kup-at-
gárci 'old'	—	—	—	garc-at-
cími 'old'	—	—	—	c'im-at-
c'inc'a 'witty'	—	—	c'inc'-ád-	c'inc'-at-
béls'i 'lazy'	—	—	béls'-ád-	—
k'ara 'good'	—	—	k'arád-	—
hac'a 'sharp'	—	—	hac'-ád-	—
kuǂi 'bent in'	—	—	kuǂ-ád-	—
k'ulbe 'deep'	—	—	—	—

5.2.6 *Denominal verb roots*

These are verbs derived from nouns. In all cases recorded, there is a final *k/k'* segment on the verb root.

48. *zaalle* 'worm'
zalk' - 'to be wormy'
kaalo 'one who comes to a beer party without working'
kalk- 'to go to a beer party without working'
gundúlli 'thigh'
gundulk' - 'to punish children by firmly squeezing the thigh'

There are other comparable noun-verb pairs as shown in (49) below. However, in this case, it is not possible to regard one of the two forms as basic and the other as derived. The nouns and verbs in (49a) have identical segments but they differ only in tone whereas those in (49b) exhibit segmental differences, mainly involving final *k/k'*.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 49a. <i>dirsi</i> | 'fence, made of wood' | <i>dirk'</i> - | 'to fence' |
| <i>ʔúfi</i> | 'drink' | <i>ʔúfk-</i> | 'drink' |
| <i>maɗo</i> | 'work' | <i>maɗ-</i> | 'work' |
| <i>ʔóli</i> | 'war' | <i>ʔol-</i> | 'fight' |
| <i>póʔʔi</i> | 'light' | <i>póʔʔ-</i> | 'become light' |
| <i>ʔánjo</i> | 'blessing' | <i>ʔanj-</i> | 'bless' |
| <i>tálʔe</i> | 'debt' | <i>talʔ-</i> | 'borrow/lend' |
| <i>ɗábo</i> | 'mistake' | <i>ɗab-</i> | 'err' |
| <i>kémó</i> | 'hunting' | <i>kem-</i> | 'hunt' |
| 49b. <i>ɓázi</i> | 'race' | <i>ɓaʃk-</i> | 'run' |
| <i>ʃoicci</i> | 'labour' | <i>ʃoʔ-</i> | 'give birth' |
| <i>cóʃi</i> | 'vomit' | <i>c'óʃk-</i> | 'vomit' |
| <i>ɗúússi</i> | 'explosion' | <i>ɗúúk'k'-</i> | 'explode' |
| <i>yeepi</i> | 'tears' | <i>yeekk-</i> | 'cry' |
| <i>deebíssi</i> | 'belch' | <i>deebisk-</i> | 'belch' |
| <i>ʔéɓɓi</i> | 'starting point (of river source)' | <i>ʔek'k'-</i> | 'stand' |

Some of the nouns in the above list are used as cognate objects of their respective verbal forms. The following are examples of verbs and their cognate object nouns.

- 50a. *ʔízi* *ʃeeʃi* *ʃéék'k'-á- ne*
 3MS:NOM urine:ABS urinate-IPF-A:DCL
 'he is urinating (urine)'

- 50b. ʔizi ʃááʃi ʃáák'k'-á-ne
 3MS:NOM roasted grain-ABS roast-IPF-A:DCL
 'he is roasting (roasted grain)' (cf. meʔi 'grain')
- 50c. núúni ʔúʃi ʔúʃk-á-ne
 1PL:NOM drink:ABS drink-IPF-A:DCL
 'We are drinking (drinks)'

5.3 Verb inflection

Verbal inflection in Maale involves the distinction between aspect, mood and polarity. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in comparison to other Omoto languages such as Gamo and Wolaitta, the verbal paradigm in Maale is simplified: with few exceptions, e.g., the imperative, Maale verbs do not have agreement markers.

5.3.1 Aspect

Maale makes a morphological distinction between Perfective and Imperfective aspects.¹ The Imperfective is further distinguished in present imperfect and future imperfect. Generally, aspect markers occur immediately after the verb root or after the verb stem (i.e. verb root plus derivational affixes). In main clauses, the aspect morpheme is immediately followed by so-called "sentence type markers" (see Chapter Seven). In dependent clauses, aspect can be realized in one of the following two ways: In some dependent clauses aspect is marked by attaching aspectual affixes (the same as those in the main verb) to the verb root which is then followed by a dependent clause marker. In others, the dependency markers themselves express aspectual distinctions. Aspect marking in dependent clauses is discussed in Chapter Eight. This section deals mainly with aspect marking in main clauses.

¹ For many Omotic languages the question of whether these languages have a tense or aspect marking system or both is not well investigated. Even for closely related languages such as the Omoto group, to which Maale belongs, different systems are reported. For instance, Koyra is reported to have an aspect system (Hayward 1982), whereas Zayse is basically an aspect system but may secondarily be marked for tense distinctions (Hayward 1990). Gamo and Kullo have a tense system, the former only with past and present distinctions (Hompó 1990), and the latter with present, past and future tense distinctions (Allan 1976). According to Adams (1983: 192) Wolaitta marks both aspect and tense, but "aspect plays a larger role than tense". Verb paradigms of Gofa are given as "tense or aspect" without any further discussion (Moreno 1938: 47).

5.3.1.1 *The Perfective*

The Perfective aspect is marked by the morpheme *-é-* and it mainly expresses completed actions/events. The actual time difference between the completion of the action/event and the speech event does not affect the form of the verb itself. There are, however, aspectual adverbs that locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. This is illustrated below.

- 51a. *táání méyi wod'é-ne*
1SG:NOM grain:ABS kill-PF-A:DCL
'I crushed grain'
- 51b. *ĩĩní hannó gútte muké-ne*
3MS:NOM today morning come-PF-A:DCL
'He came this morning'
- 51c. *ĩĩní lágg-atsi-na wolla hinná beri muké-ne*
3MS:NOM friend-M:ABS-INST together last_year come-PF-A:DCL
'He came last year with his friend'
- 51d. *táání gen?-éll-ó fukk-í hátsi gap-is-é-ne*
1SG:NOM antelope-F-ABS slaughter-CNV₁ now finish-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
'I just finished slaughtering the antelope'
- 51e. *ĩĩní hátsi pétte dak'ik'a-ko bérta késk-é-ne*
3MS:NOM now one minute-GEN infront go_out-PF-A:DCL
'He just left one minute ago'

We mentioned above that the Perfective is mainly used to refer to completed actions. However, as in many aspectual languages, in complex sentences, the Perfective can be used in hypothetical conditional, and negative clauses where the completion of some action is contingent upon the event expressed in the main clause (cf. sections 5.3.1.4 and 5.3.1.6 below)

5.3.1.2 *The Imperfective*

The Imperfective aspect in Maale distinguishes: the present Imperfective which is marked by *-á-*, and the future Imperfective which is marked by *-andá*. The former may be anchored to the moment of the speech by referring to situations taking place simultaneous to the speech event, as in (52a); it may also refer to 'general truth' or 'timeless' statements, as in (52b), or to habitual actions (52c).

- 52a. *táání méyi wod'á-ne*
1SG:NOM grain:ABS kill-IPF-A:DCL
'I am crushing grain'

- 52b. **kaní ʔafki naʃk-á-ne**
 dog:NOM meat:ABS like-IPF-A:DCL
 'Dogs like meat'
- 52c. **ʔízá bíá kélii gútte ʔek'k'-á-ne**
 3FS:NOM all day morning stand-IPF-A:DCL
 'Every day she gets up early'

On the other hand, **-andá** is mainly used to express situations which have not been started or initiated yet at the moment of speaking, as in the following examples:

- 53a. **táání ʔízá-m zíró maɖ-andá-ne**
 1SG:NOM 3MS:ABS-DAT tomorrow work-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'I will work for him tomorrow'
- 53b. **hannó táání hauff-andá-ne**
 today 1SG:NOM rest-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Today I will rest'
- 53c. **ʔíini zíró mukk-andá-ne**
 3MS:NOM tomorrow come-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'He will come tomorrow'

Thus, the present Imperfective and the future Imperfective contrast with the Perfective aspect in that they denote situations which are non-completed. Furthermore, the present and future Imperfective share partial formal similarity, whereas the Perfective marker is distinct from these two. It seems that the future Imperfective involves more than one morpheme: it seems to be a combination of **-and-** and the present Imperfective marker **-á**; **-and-** might be related to the intentional marker **-aní**. Moreover, as will be shown in section 5.3.1.4, the aspect markers in the negative also exhibit the Perfective versus Imperfective dichotomy. The Perfective negative is marked by **-ibá-**, whereas the present and future Imperfective are marked by partially similar forms: by **-uwá-** and **-induwá-** respectively.

As reported in several typological studies, in most languages it is important to divide verbs into dynamic and stative types because aspect marking can be affected by this distinction. For instance, in many languages stative verbs are incompatible with affixes marking progressive, imperfect or present tense (cf. Dahl 1982, Bache 1995, Bhat 1999). In Maale, the semantic distinction of verbs expressing dynamic actions versus statives does not affect morphological aspect marking because potential stative verbs have the same inflectional possibilities as dynamic verbs.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 54. | Present IPF/Prog. | Future Imperfective | Perfective | |
| | mal-á-ne | mal-andá-ne | mal-é-ne | 'think' |
| | zag-á-ne | zag-andá-ne | zag-é-ne | 'see' |
| | ʔer-á-ne | ʔer-andá-ne | ʔer-é-ne | 'know' |

ʔis's'-á-ne	ʔis's'-andá-ne	ʔis's'-é-ne	'hate'
naʃk-á-ne	naʃk-andá-ne	naʃk-é-ne	'like'

Maale has a large inventory of adjectives (cf. Chapter Six). These adjectives as well as nouns can be verbalized in order to express inchoative/stative meaning (cf. 5.2.5 above). These derived verbs occur with the same aspectual markers with which process verbs occur. For instance, **ʔákk-áď-** 'become new' and **met-áď-** 'be in difficulty', which are verbalized forms of the adjective **ʔákki** 'new' and the noun **metó** 'problem' respectively, have the following aspectual distinctions:

55a. Present Imperfective	Fut. Imperfective	Perfective
ʔákk-áď-á-ne	ʔákk-áď-andá-ne	ʔákk-áď-é-ne
'becomes new'	'will become new'	'became new'
55b. met-áď-á-ne	met-áď-andá-ne	met-áď-é-ne
'is in difficulty'	'will be in difficulty'	'was in difficulty'

Alternatively, inchoative meanings can be expressed periphrastically using the verb **maʔ-** 'happen', which occurs with the three aspect markers. Compare the alternative forms in each of the following examples:

56a. kaat-at-á-ne	or	kaati	maʔ-á-ne
king-VBZ-IPF-A:DCL		king:ABS	happen-IPF-A:DCL
'becomes king'			'becomes king'
56b. kaat-at-andá-ne	or	kaati	maʔ-andá-ne
king-VBZ-F:IPF-A:DCL		king:ABS	happen-F:IPF-A:DCL
'will become king'			'will become king'
56c. kaat-at-é-ne	or	kaati	maʔ-é-ne
king-VBZ-PF-A:DCL		king:ABS	happen-PF-A:DCL
'became king'			'became king'

There are some adjectives which have corresponding verbal roots. These adjectival verb roots can take the same aspect markers as other verbs. This is illustrated below.

- 57a. **waas'-á** **ʃimm-á-ne**
 water-NOM be_cold-IPF-A:DCL
 'The water is cold'
- 57b. **waas'-á** **ʃimm-andá-ne**
 water-NOM be_cold-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'The water will be cold/cool'
- 57c. **waas'-á** **ʃimm-é-ne**
 water-NOM be_cold-PF-A:DCL
 'The water got cold'

In some cases, situations which might be described as states may be expressed with 'dynamic' verbs. In this case too either the Perfective or Imperfective aspect marker can be used:

58. **taa-kó goḅḅ-ó k'ós's'-á-ne**
 1SG:GEN stomach:ABS hit-IPF-A:DCL
 'I have stomach pain'

5.3.1.3 Aspect, non-verbal sentences and "Be" verbs

In non-verbal sentences, the Perfective-Imperfective aspect distinction is neutralized, as the following examples demonstrate:

- 59a. **hátsi waas'-á jimmé-ke**
 now water-NOM cold-BE:A:DCL
 'The water is cold now'
- 59b. **ziginó waas'-á jimmé-ke**
 yesterday water-NOM cold-BE:A:DCL
 'Yesterday, the water was cold'
- 59c. **bíá kélli waas'-á jimmé-ke**
 all day water-NOM cold-BE:A:DCL
 'The water is always cold'

The suffix **-ke** in the above examples is not a copula marker or a 'be verb'. Rather, this suffix shows that the non-verbal sentence is simple declarative, in contrast to the emphatic declarative (see also Chapter Seven).

There are three 'BE' verbs in Maale, which are restricted in distribution: **t-**, **d-** and **n-**. As shown at the beginning of this chapter, the usual structure of verb roots in Maale is CVC or CVCC. The three BE verb roots (and the existential verb **?a-**, see below) are special in not having these canonical shapes. Another peculiarity of the BE verbs relates to their expression of aspectual distinctions. The verb roots **t-** and **d-** only occur with the present Imperfective marker **-á-** whereas the verb stem **n-** only occurs with the future Imperfective marker **-andá-**. None of these three verbs occurs with the Perfective aspect marker. Below we elaborate on the aspect and modality interaction these verbs display.

The verb root **t-** is used to express negative forms of identity, present conditionals, and it is used in temporal clauses. This verb stem occurs *only* with the present Imperfective aspect marker **-á-**. The three functions of this verb are illustrated in examples (60a-c) below.

- 60a. **táání tamaare t-uwá-se**
 1SG:NOM student:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'I am/was not a student'

(cf. **táání tamaaré-ke** 'I am a student'; Perfective negative: ***t-ibá-se**)

- 60b. **waas'-á jimme t-á-to táání ?úfk-andá-ne**
 water-NOM cold:ABS BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM drink-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the water is cold, I will drink it'
- 60c. **táání tamaare t-á-nte jinkó-idda nang-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM student:ABS BE-IPF-TEMP₃ Jinka-LOC live-PF-A:DCL
 'When I was a student, I lived in Jinka'
 (Perfective: ***t-é-nte**)

The verb **d-** occurs only in interrogative sentences questioning nominal forms and in 'hypothetical conditionals'. Like **t-**, it occurs only with the present Imperfective. It does not occur with future Imperfective and the Perfective aspect markers.

- 61a. **hay-í ?ársi d-á**
 this:M:NOM bed:ABS BE-IPF:Q
 'Is this a bed?'
 (***d-é, *d-andá**)
- 61b. **laal-ó d-á ?ótt-ó ma33-á-tsí**
 woman-ABS BE-Q:IPF pot:PL-ABS make-IPF-NMZ:NOM
 'Is it women who make pots?'

It is interesting to note that by just switching the verb roots **t-** and **d-** the language distinguishes between open conditionals and hypothetical conditionals which in other languages, e.g. English, depend on aspectual distinctions. Compare the meanings of the (a) and (b) forms in the following two examples:

- 62a. **walli waari t-á-to táání ?ank'-andá-ne**
 healthy goat:ABS BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM buy-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If it is a healthy goat I will buy it'
- 62b. **walli waari d-á-to táání**
 healthy goat:ABS BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM
?ank'-andá-nte (?átt-é-ne)
 buy-F:IPF-PRVN (remain-PF-A:DCL)
 'If it were a healthy goat I would have bought it (but that did not happen)'
- 63a. **waas'-á jimme t-á-to táání ?úfk-andá-ne**
 water-NOM cold BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM drink-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the water is cold, I will drink it'

- 63b. **waas'-á jimme d-á-to táání ?úf'k-andá-ne**
 water-NOM cold BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM drink-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the water were cold, I would drink it'

The verb root **n-** is used in dubitative or hypothetical constructions, and it occurs only with the future Imperfect aspect marker. It does not co-occur with the present Imperfective and the Perfective aspect markers.

- 64a. **nu ?indá muk-é n-andá-ne**
 1PL:GEN mother:NOM come-PF:REL BE-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Perhaps our mother has already come (but we do not know for sure)'
 (lit.: 'Our mother will be the one that has come')
 (*t-é-ne, *n-á-ne)
- 64b. **?izí ?izó ?iginni n-andá**
 3MS:NOM 3FS:GEN relative:ABS BE-F:IPF:Q
 'Could he be her relative?'
 (*n-á, *n-é)

As briefly mentioned above, the existential verb **?á-** behaves in a similar manner to the BE verbs in terms of aspect inflection. **?á-** only occurs with the present Imperfective aspect marker **-á-**, even when the situation refers to a 'past event'

65. **zúll-a ?así ?á-á-ne**
 outside-LOC person:NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There is/was somebody outside'

Note, however, that the negative of the existential verb is expressed by the verb **bá-**, which is formally similar to the Perfective negative marker **-ibá-**. However, while the former is an independent verbal lexeme (66a), the latter occurs suffixed to other verbs (66b).

- 66a. **zúll-a ?así bá-se**
 outside-LOC person:NOM exist:NEG-N:DCL
 'There is/was nobody outside'
- 66b. **na??-atsí muk-ibá-se**
 child-M:NOM come-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'The boy did not come'

5.3.1.4 Aspect and negation

In the negative, the verb morphologically distinguishes Imperfective present, Imperfective future and Perfective aspects which are marked by **-uwá-**, **-induwá-**, and **-ibá-** respectively. These three suffixes occur immediately after the verb root or the

verb stem; they are then followed by the negative declarative sentence type marker *-se*, as shown in the following examples:

- 67a. *ʔizí ʔafki múʔ-uwá-se*
 3MS:NOM meat:ABS eat-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He does not eat meat'
- 67b. *ʔizí ʔafki múʔ-induwá-se*
 3MS:NOM meat:ABS eat-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He will not eat meat'
- 67c. *ʔizí ʔafki múʔ-ibá-se*
 3MS:NOM meat:ABS eat-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He did not eat meat'

We pointed out in section 5.3.1.2 that the future Imperfective marker *-andá* has an additional meaning of expressing intention, suggesting the possibility that this form can be further analysed as *-and-* and *-á-*. The expression of intention along with future time reference comes out clearly in the negative, as the following minimal pair sentences illustrate:

- 68a. *zíró nú madf-uwá-se*
 tomorrow 1PL:NOM work-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'We will not work tomorrow (as a rule)'
- 68b. *zíro nú madf-induwá-se*
 tomorrow 1PL:NOM work-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'We will not work tomorrow (we may be expected to work but we refuse to do so)'

The above sentences demonstrate that unlike affirmative sentences in which the present Imperfective and the future Imperfective are always distinct and cannot be freely interchanged, in the negative the present Imperfective can be used to express a situation which will take place in the future. This negative construction with the present Imperfective then contrasts in meaning with the future Imperfective negative forms only in the additional expression of 'intention' but not in terms of temporal-aspectual meaning.

5.3.1.5 *Aspect in interrogative sentences*

Depending on the type of the interrogative sentence, aspect distinction is marked on the interrogative verb by one of the following two ways. In non-polar interrogative sentences (i.e., interrogative sentences containing content question words), the present Imperfective, future Imperfective and Perfective aspects are marked by *-á-*, *-andá-* and *-é-* respectively; i.e., by the same aspect markers used in declarative

affirmative sentences (see above). These aspect markers are immediately followed by the interrogative sentence type marker *-y*, as illustrated in (69).

- 69a. *néení ʔaigó múʔ-á-y*
 1SG:NOM what:ABS eat-IPF-Q
 'What are you eating/What do you eat usually?'
- 69b. *néení ʔaigó múʔ-andá-y*
 1SG:NOM what:ABS eat-F:IPF-Q
 'What will you eat?'
- 69c. *néení ʔaigó múʔ-é-y*
 1SG:NOM what:ABS eat-PF-Q
 'What did you eat'

In polar interrogative sentences (i.e., in interrogative sentences eliciting 'yes-or-no' answers) the Imperfective aspects are marked by *-á* and *-andá* (i.e., still the same aspect markers as in Declarative sentences) and the interrogative itself is expressed with rising intonation (cf. Chapter Ten for details). The Perfective interrogative, however, is marked by a distinct portmanteau morpheme.

- 70a. *néení múʔ-á*
 1SG:NOM eat-IPF:Q
 'Are you eating? Do you eat?'
- 70b. *néení múʔ-andá*
 1SG:NOM eat-F:IPF:Q
 'Will you eat?'
- 70c. *néení múʔ-íya*
 1SG:NOM eat-PF:Q
 'Did you eat?'

5.3.1.6 *Aspect in complex sentences*

The syntactic structure of dependent clauses is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. In this section, we briefly outline the morphological and semantic characteristics of aspectual markers in dependent clauses against those of main clauses.

In Maale, some types of dependent clauses occur with the Perfective or Imperfective aspect markers, shown above for main clauses. Others, e.g. complement clauses, purposive clauses and converb constructions, occur without overt aspect markers. In one instance, the meaning of the dependent clause marker may be altered depending on the aspect marker with which it occurs. These are shown below.

Dependent clauses which co-occur with both Perfective and Imperfective aspect markers include conditional and reason clauses. The combination of the conditional

and the Imperfective aspect markers is illustrated in examples (71a-b), example (71c) illustrates the occurrence of the conditional and the Perfective aspect marker.

- 71a. **píwwe ʔamman-andá-to ʔámmán-i haʃf-andá-to háʃf-i**
 IDEO believe-F:IPF-CND believe-VER give_up-F:IPF-CND give_up-VER
 'Believe (in your religion) properly or give it up altogether'
 (lit. If you will believe properly, believe! If you will give it up, give it up!')
- 71b. **ʔanní-na naʔʔ-éll-ó-na wolla ʔur-áʔ-i**
 husband:ABS-INST child-F-ABS-INST together fight-VBZ-CNV₁
púrt-á-to
 be_bad-IPF-CND
 'If the husband and the daughter become bad by fighting with each other, ...'
- 71c. **haya ʃúmm-ó múʔ-é-to tá wóyt-andá-y**
 this:M:ABS mushroom-ABS eat-PF-CN 1SG:SBJ what be-F:IPF-Q
 'What will happen to me if I eat this mushroom?'

Examples (71d-e) below illustrate the aspect marking in reason clauses.

- 71d. **núúní ʔízá nu ʔindó maadd-é-tsi-ro**
 1SG:NOM 3FS:NOM 1PL:GEN mother-ABS help-PF-NMZ-REAS
galat-á-ne
 thank-IPF-A:DCL
 'We thank her because she helped our mother'
- 71e. **núúní ʔízá nu ʔindó maadd-á-tsi-ro**
 1SG:NOM 3FS:NOM 1PL:GEN mother-ABS help-IPF-NMZ-REAS
galat-á-ne
 thank-IPF-A:DCL
 'We thank her because she helps our mother'

Dependent clauses, which occur without a morphological aspect contrast include the sequential temporal markers **-áza** and **-áána**. These are illustrated in the following examples:

- 72a. **ʃooc'ó-ntsí ʔááʔ-áza táání néná maadd-andá-ne**
 guest-DF:PL:NOM go-TEMP₁ 1SG:NOM 2SG:ABS help-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'When the guests leave, I will help you'
- 72b. **ʃooc'ó-ntsí ʔááʔ-áána táání néná maadd-andá-ne**
 guest-DF:PL:NOM go-TEMP₂ 1SG:NOM 2SG:ABS help-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Immediately after the guests leave, I will help you'

When the morpheme *-nte* occurs with the Perfective aspect marker, it expresses a counterfactual meaning. However, when it occurs with the Imperfective aspect marker *-á-*, it expresses a simultaneous action as in (73a) below.

- 73a. *Yíntsí múʔ-á-nte táání túkó jáák'k'-andá-ne*
 2PL:NOM eat-IPF-TEMP₃ 1SG:NOM coffee:ABS roast-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'While you are eating, I will roast coffee'

- 73b. *Yízám keezz-ínt-é-nte Yízi waizz-uwá-se*
 3MS-DAT tell-PAS-PF-PRVN 3MS:NOM listen-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'It was told to him, but he does not listen'

It should be noted that the use of some aspectual dependent clause markers may be affected by spatial orientation. For example, we demonstrated that the temporal marker *-áza* is affixed to a dependent verb when the dependent verb expresses an action which took place *before* that expressed by the main verb. In contrast, the imperfective aspect marker *-á-* and the temporal marker *-nte* are affixed to a dependent verb when this verb expresses an action which takes place *simultaneously with* that expressed by the main verb. However, it was observed that both of these two temporal markers could be used to describe a situation which appears to involve simultaneity.

- 74a. *Yízi ɓaʔk-á-nte miiff-á kédd-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM run-TEMP₃ money-NOM fall-PF-A:DCL
 'The money fell while he was running'

- 74b. *Yízi ɓaʔk-áza miiff-á kédd-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM run-TEMP₁ money-NOM fall-PF-A:DCL
 'The money fell while he was running'

Nevertheless, the above two sentences are understood as involving distinct spatial locations: example (74a) expresses that the situation described by the verb in the main and dependent clauses overlap temporally and/or spatially. This sentence can be used, for example, to express that "money fell out of one's pocket while one was running". Example (74b) on the other hand, expresses a situation in which the events described by the two verbs take place in different spatial location but overlap temporally. Thus, this sentence is understood as expressing, 'the money the person left behind on the table or in the cupboard fell when he was running'. The utterance in (74b) cannot be used to express that "money fell out of one's pocket while running". A purely temporal explanation of the use of the sequential marker *-áza* in (74b) above can also be given if we assume that the speaker focused on the starting phase of the two situations: the starting of the running precedes the falling of the money. Such temporal-spatial coincidences merit further study.

5.3.1.7 *Quantificational aspect*

The term 'quantificational aspect' is used here to refer to forms that express an event as occurring several times (cf. Bhat 1999: 53). This aspect in Maale is expressed by the use of modifying verbs (i.e., converbs) whose semantic specification includes iterativity, or by reduplicating adverbs or adjectives.

- 75a. *ʔatsí lamí lamí ʔóficc-é-ne*
 person:M:NOM repeat repeat cough-PF-A:DCL
 'The man coughed repeatedly'
 (cf. *lamʔó* 'two')

- 75b. *ʔatsí ʔukke ʔukke ʔóficc-é-ne*
 person-M:NOM near near cough-PF-A:DCL
 'The man coughed often'

Similarly, reduplication is used in the following sentence to express a habitual action:

76. *ʔíni gutté gutté ʔek'k'-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM early morning early morning stand up-IPF-A:DCL
 'He gets up early in the morning'

The special modifying verbs include: *dilʔ-* 'do something repeatedly' as in:

77. *tá ʔéll-í dilʔ-ém ʔasí báik'k'-é-ne*
 1SG:NOM call-CNV₁ do repeatedly-CNV₁ person:NOM disappear-PF-A:DCL
 'I called repeatedly but there was no one around'

Alternatively, adverbs which express 'verbal quantity' such as *sani* in the following example may be involved:

78. *sani ʔing-* 'to give repeatedly' (cf. *ʔing-* 'give')
sani soof- 'to work repeatedly' (cf. *soof-* 'work')

Similar meanings are expressed by the verbs *gaazz-* 'take much' and *nakk-* 'do something with force, excessively' as in:

- 79a. *ʔatsí gaazz-í ʔaad-é-ne*
 person:M:NOM take_much-CNV₁ go-PF-A:DCL
 'The man took much and left'
- 79b. *ʔíni gaazz-í mukk-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM take_much-CNV₁ come-PF-A:DCL
 'He took much and came'

- 79c. **bóʔo zag-áʔʔo laal-éll-á ʔilatti nakk-é-ne**
 wild animal:ABS see-CNV₂ woman-F-NOM cry:ABS "DO"-PF-A:DCL
 'When she saw the wild animal, the woman started crying very loudly'
- 79d. **wozi-m nakk-é-y**
 how-DAT "DO"-PF-Q
 'Where are you going hurriedly?' ('How do you do (walking) excessively!')

5.3.1.8 Periphrastic expression of aspect

Aspects expressed by periphrastic means include the following:

- ◆ Progressive actions in the past are often expressed by using an Imperfective relative clause construction headed by the nominal **goitsa** 'road, way', as illustrated in the following sentence:

80. **gúúnn-á táná d'ay-á goitsa**
 mosquito-NOM 1SG:ABS bite-IPF:REL road:ABS
work'-é-ne
 spend the night-PF-A:DCL
 'The mosquitos were biting me the whole night'

- ◆ The ingressive may be expressed by the verbs **ʔark-** 'hold' or **késk-** 'go out'

- 81a. **ʔííní ʔúfk-itsi ʔark'-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM drink-INF hold-PF-A:DCL
 'He is starting to drink'
- 81b. **ʔííní mádf-ó-idda késk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM work-ABS-LOC go out-PF-A:DCL
 'He sets out to work'

- ◆ The ingressive may also be expressed by a purposive clause followed by a declarative non-verbal sentence marker **-ke**.

- 82a. **maalle ʔác'i baazzi tá keezz-aní-ke**
 Maale:ABS area:ABS thing:ABS 1SG:NOM tell-PURP-BE:A:DCL
 'I am going to tell about the Maale area'
- 82b. **núúní múʔ-aní-ke**
 1SG:NOM eat-PURP-BE:A:DCL
 'We are about to eat'

- ◆ Consecutive actions may be expressed by using a converb verb immediately followed by **gapa**. (On converbs, see Chapter Eight.)

ʃank'-é	ʃank'-uwáte	'buy!'
ɖukk-é	ɖukk-uwáte	'shoot!'

The polite imperative is formed on the basis of the regular imperative. Namely, by adding **-(té)ra** to the regular imperative forms.

86.	2SG:POL:IMP	2PL:POL:IMP	
	ʃaʃk-étéra	ʃaʃk-uwátera	'run!'
	ʃank'-étéra	ʃank'-uwátera	'buy!'
	ɖukk-étéra	ɖukk-uwátera	'shoot!'

In (86) the suffix **-téra** is shortened to **-ra** in the plural to avoid the repetitive sequence **tete**. Thus instead of the expected: **ʃaʃk-úwáté-téra** 'run (2PL:POL)!', we get **ʃaʃk-úwátéra**.

Example (87b) illustrates the impolite imperative.

87a. **ʃikk-é** 'Move away!'

87b. **ʃikk-íbáy** 'Move away (curt command)!'

ʃikk-íbáy is also one of the expressions used to chase away cats (as an alternative to interjections, see Chapter Thirteen). Formally, the impolite imperative is similar (but not identical) to the negative interrogative construction. An example of the latter:

88.	néení	bookk-ó	ʔáád-ibá-y
	2SG:NOM	market-ABS	go-PF:NEG-Q
	'Didn't you go to the market?'		

In fact, in some Ethiopian languages such as Amharic an emphatic order is expressed by interrogative forms (cf. Baye 1994). Thus, in Amharic the imperative verb **hid** 'go (2MS:IMP)!' expresses simple order whereas its negative interrogative form i.e., **atthedim** 'Aren't you going?', accompanied with a special intonation expresses 'emphatic order'. The latter kind of imperative in Amharic is understood as entailing punishment if the order is not complied with. Maale speakers interviewed were not sure of such a connection between the imperative and the interrogative. They emphasize the slight pronunciation difference between, e.g., **ʃaʃk-íbáy** 'run!' and **ʃaʃk-ibá-y** 'didn't you run?'. Furthermore, it seems that the Perfective aspect reading in the interrogative is not compatible with the imperative, that is, the Maale equivalent of the Amharic 'emphatic order' is **ʃaʃk-uwá-y** which is formed with the Imperfective negative. However, this latter form in Maale does not express order; it is a question form.

In negative imperatives, the polite-impolite distinction is neutralized; however, singular plural distinctions are maintained, as illustrated below (for details on negation, see Chapter Eleven).

89. **ḡaḡk-e!** ‘run! (2SG)’ **múʔ-é** ‘eat! (2SG)’
 ḡaḡk-ippo ‘do not run! (2SG)’ **múʔ-ippo** ‘do not eat! (2SG)’
 ḡaḡk-ippote ‘do not run! (2PL)’ **múʔ-ippote** ‘do not eat! (2PL)’

5.3.2.2 *The optative*

The optative is marked by **-óm** for the first person singular and plural; and by **-óngó** for third persons. There is no optative form for second person. Thus, the imperative and the optative are in complimentary distribution with regard to person.

- 90a. **táání ḡaḡk-óm** ‘let me run’ **táání ḡank’-óm** ‘let me buy’
 núúní ḡaḡk-óm ‘let us run’ **núúní ḡank’-óm** ‘let us buy’
 90b. **ʔííní ḡaḡk-óngó** ‘let him run’ **ʔííní ḡank’-óngó** ‘let him buy’
 ʔízá ḡaḡk-óngó ‘let her run’ **ʔízá ḡank’-óngó** ‘let her buy’
 ʔiyátá ḡaḡk-óngó ‘let them run’ **iyátá ḡank’-óngó** ‘let them buy’

The optative in Maale is used to express an indirect order or a wish; it is used in collective prayers and in expressing good wishes to a sick person.

91. **s’oossí maar-óngó**
 God:NOM forgive-3:OPT
 ‘May you get better!’

There is a construction in Maale which shares a similar meaning with the optative but which is formally different from it. We call this the ‘pseudo-optative’. Unlike the optative, the pseudo-optative does not express orders or wishes. It rather states that the speaker is not interested in the activity expressed by the verb or its results:

92. **háík’k’-úwáza** ‘Let him die (I don’t care)’
 zag-úwáza ‘Let him see (I don’t care!)’

CHAPTER 6

NOMINAL AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

6.1 Adjectives

Adjectives in Maale behave in a similar way as nouns: both adjectives and nouns end in one of the four vowels: i, e, a, o; an adjective can take nominal inflectional markers when the head noun it modifies is dropped; both nouns and adjectives can be used as attributes of another nominal. Dixon (1997) makes an interesting generalization about the correlation between head or dependent-marking and the similarity of adjectives either to nouns or verbs. According to Dixon (1997: 125), in “[d]ependent-marking languages ... adjectives are grammatically similar to nouns’. Dixon (1997: 125) gives the following explanation as to why adjectives are similar to nouns in some languages and like verbs in others:

Adjectives tend to be in the center of things. Whichever of noun and verb bears the marking for syntactic function, that is likely to be the class to which the adjective class is grammatically most similar.

In the previous sections we have shown that in Maale, syntactic functions are marked on the noun and not on the verb. Therefore, the similarity between adjectives and nouns in this language supports the claim that there is a correlation between dependency marking and the similarity of adjectives to nouns (cf. Dixon 1997).

As can be seen from the following example, attributive adjectives precede the noun they modify:

- 1a. **ʒíní** **deetsi bássi** **bass-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM heavy load:ABS carry on back-PF-A:DCL
 ‘He carried a heavy load’
- 1b. **ʒíní** **ʔodossi mítsi** **tik’-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM tall tree:ABS cut-PF-A:DCL
 ‘He cut a tall tree’

Adjectives modifying a definite noun may take the definite Absolutive case marker -ó showing that there is agreement in case between the Adjective and the noun it modifies. Below, examples (2a-b) illustrate noun phrases in which adjectives modify an indefinite head noun while (2c-d) illustrate a noun phrase the head noun of which is a definite noun.

- 2a. **ɖákka tiikí muk-é-ne**
 little monkey:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'A little monkey came'
- 2b. **púúpi tiikí muk-é-ne**
 big monkey:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'A big monkey came'
- 2c. **ɖákk-ó tiikk-ómmá muk-é-ne**
 little-AGR monkey-DIM:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The little monkey came'
- 2d. **púúpp-ó naʔʔ-atsí muk-é-ne**
 big-AGR chid-M:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The big boy came'

When the head noun is dropped, the adjective is affixed with the gender and case markers of the noun for which it stands.

- 3a. **púúpp-átsí múkk-é-ne**
 big-M-NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The big one (M) came'
- 3b. **mízá66-éll-á muk-é-ne**
 beautiful-F-NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The beautiful one (F) came'
- 3c. **ɖákk-ómmá muk-é-ne**
 little-DIM:NOM come-PF-A:DCL
 'The little one (F/M) came'

When used as predicates, adjectives are affixed with the sentence type marker **-ke**. As in nouns, the last vowel of a predicative adjective with low tone is assigned high tone before **-ke**.

- 4a. **báass-á deetsí-ke**
 load-NOM heavy-BE:A:DCL
 'The load is/was heavy' (deetsi 'heavy')
- 4b. **mís'-éll-á ʔodossí-ke**
 tree-F-NOM tall-BE:A:DCL
 'The tree is/was tall' (ʔodossi 'tall')
- 4c. **ɖúkk-á púúpi-ke**
 mountain-NOM big-BE:A:DCL
 'The mountain is/was big' (púúpi 'big')

Some quality concepts are expressed by relative clauses. These relative clauses include verb roots such as *kás's'* - 'be ripe/cooked' and *harg-* 'be sick'. Contrary to the accepted notion that antonyms generally belong to the same syntactic category, Maale shows that antonyms of these verbal forms may be expressed through adjectives: *ḡáḡi* 'raw/not ripe' and *wálli* 'healthy' respectively.

- 5a. *kás's'-é* *ʔáápi*
 be_cooked-PF:REL eye
 'ripe fruit (i.e., fruit that has become ripe)'
- 5b. *harg-é* *ʔasi*
 be_sick-PF:REL person
 'sick person (i.e., a person that has become sick)'

Other examples:

- 6a. *lább-é-ya*
 tire-PF:REL-NMZ:ABS
 'weak (i.e., one that is tired)'
- 6b. *ʔits-é-ya*
 refuse-PF:REL-NMZ:ABS
 'ugly (one that makes one refuse)'
- 6c. *wayzi báik'k'-é-ya*
 ear lose-PF:REL-NMZ:ABS
 'deaf (lit. one that has lost (his/her) ear)'
- 6d. *ʔáápi báik'k'-é-ya*
 eye lose-PF:REL-NMZ:ABS
 'blind (one that has lost (his/her) eye)'

The following sentences illustrate how these are used as attributives:

- 7a. *taa-ko* *ʔác'c'-a* *wayzi báyk'-é* *ʔasí* *ʔá-á-ne*
 1SG:GEN-GEN area-LOC ear:ABSlose-PF:REL person exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'There is a deaf person in my area'
- 7b. *ʔasí* *ḡánga báik'k'-é-ya-na* *wolla* *gorr-int-á-y*
 person mouth lose-PF:REL-NMZ:ABS-INST together insult-RECP-IPF-Q
 'Does one ever engage in insult with a dumb person?'
 (*ḡánga báyk'-é* *ʔasi* 'dumb person')

Some adjectives seem to have a verbal counterpart since the inchoative form of these is formed by affixing tense markers to an adjectival verb root:

8. *mel-é-ne* 'it became dry' (*mélzi* 'dry')
 ʃimm-é-ne 'it became cold' (*ʃimme* 'cold')

Other adjectives should first be verbalized and then take verbal inflectional markers to form the inchoative. This type of inchoative verb formation is discussed in Chapter Five together with other verbal derivational forms. The derivation of abstract nouns from adjectives is discussed in Chapter Three.

In table 6.1 Maale adjectives are listed (grouped into semantic types which are suggested in Dixon 1982).

Table 6.1 List of Maale adjectives

<i>Dimension</i>			
kúmútsi	'full'	gúri	'empty'
dicci	'stout (bigger than ándri)	?odossi	'long'
k'amítsi	'short'	dalgi	'wide'
púúpi	'big'	mánki	'very big'
?úkke	'close, nearby'	hakke	'far'
k'ulbe	'deep (only of water hole)'	kún?e	'narrow'
dákka	'small'	niik'o	'tiny'
s'ík'o	'teeny-weeny'	gándi	'thick'
dúúddi	'round circular and deep'	kuóó	'curved in (of leg, horn)'
gúútsi	'thin, slim (of people, stick)'	?ándri	'stout' (of humans)
ǰéncénni	'thin (of books, bread)'		
<i>Physical Property</i>			
?óyǰi	'hot'	mízaǰi	'beautiful'
túni	'blunt edge, point'	wó?ǰi	'wet'
múúǰǰi	'rotten'	ǰiicci	'soft'
?áátsi	'sweet'	c'anci	'bitter'
sólki	'sour'	mállí	'fat (of ox, sheep, etc)'
deetsi	'heavy'	hac'e	'sharp edge, point'
maasana	'ugly'	ǰimme	'cold'
ǰenáǰi	'ugly' (? derived adj.)	baabúle	'very big'
hírke	'low, non-high'	ǰelé?e	'light'
mélzi	'dry (of wood, leaves, grain)'	s'ááǰi	'dry (of mud, cloth)
kíntsi	'dirty (of human boy, cloth..)'	dódi	'hard, strong'
ǰááza	'transparent'	móti	'soft, not well cooked (of bread)'

<i>Human Propensity</i>			
dúúďďi	'selfish'	c'arfi	'courageous'
walli	'healthy'	haammi	'industrious'
béls'a	'lazy'	seello	'timid, fearful'
c'inc'á	'witty'	zóosso	'peaceful, sociable'
daidó	'foolish'	báró	'calm, patient'
?oso	'difficult'	ǵáls'a	'funny'
j/3óóro	'disagreeable'	pórfe	'talkative'
biró	'one who is new to the environment'		
<i>Colour</i>			
ǵáǵi	'unripe, green'	kártsi	'black'
zok'k'e	'red'	boore	'white'
c'óǵe	'lush, green'	?áá?e	'raw, green'
<i>Age</i>			
?ákki	'new'	ǵárci	'old (of people)'
ǵímpi	'old (older than ǵárci)'	c'imi	'old (people and objects)'
d'égge	'young (of male)'	?urga	'young (of milk, not sour)'
<i>Value</i>			
púrta	'bad'	?órgocci	'rich'
k'ára	'good'	kupi	'poor'
kófi	'good'	mánk'o	'poor'
wúdde	'expensive' (borrowed from Amharic: wídd)		

It is interesting to note that there is a considerable decline in the number of adjectives as one goes down the list of adjectives in the above table. Physical property, Dimension and Human propensity adjectives number more than those expressing Colour, Value and Age. Based on data from seventeen languages, Dixon (1982: 46) makes the following generalization about the number of adjectives represented under the seven semantic types proposed:

Note that the VALUE, AGE, COLOUR and SPEED types normally have very restricted size - involving from two to half-a-dozen words, according to the language. DIMENSION usually involves a dozen or so words, rarely very many more. PHYSICAL PROPERTY always involves at least several score items, while HUMAN PROPENSITY words can run into the hundreds.

The list of Maale adjectives in Table 6.1 partly confirms the generalization: compared to Colour, Age and Value, Physical property, Dimension and Human

propensity contain more adjectives, while no lexical form is recorded for Speed. On the other hand, in contrast to Dixon's generalization, Human propensity words are smaller in size than those adjectives referring to Physical property and Dimension.

6.2 Numerals and other quantifiers

6.2.1 *Cardinals*

Maale has a decimal system. Thus, the basic counting forms are the following :

9.	pétte	'one'
	lamʔó	'two'
	haisó	'three'
	ʔoidó	'four'
	dóngó	'five'
	láhhó	'six'
	lánkayi	'seven'
	sálli	'eight'
	tásuʔa	'nine'
	táʔʔó	'ten'

Numerals between 'eleven' and 'nineteen' are formed with the combination of lower numerals (one to nine) and the word for 'ten'. In this compounding, no formal modification of the input words is made.

10.	táʔʔó pétte	'eleven'
	táʔʔó lamʔó	'twelve'
	táʔʔó haisó	'thirteen'
	táʔʔó ʔoydó	'fourteen'
	táʔʔó dóngó	'fifteen'
	táʔʔó láhho	'sixteen'
	táʔʔó lánkayi	'seventeen'
	táʔʔó sálli	'eighteen'
	táʔʔó tasuʔa	'nineteen'

Multiples of 'ten' are formed by a modified form of the single digit followed by *tám̐mi* (which seems to be the plural form of *táʔʔó* 'ten'). Because of the phonetic modifications involved, these compound numerals are written here with a hyphen (-) between the two components.

11.	lamá-tám̐mi	'twenty'
	haytsí-tám̐mi	'thirty'
	ʔoydí-tám̐mi	'fourty'

dóngi-támmi	'fifty'
láhhi-támmi	'sixty'
lánkayi-támmi	'seventy'
sállì-támmi	'eighty'
tásufi-támmi	'ninety'

When adding single digits to multiples of ten, the word for the single digit is placed after the multiple of ten, without formal modification. Below we give examples using the first two smaller digits **pétte** 'one' and **lamʔó** 'two'.

12.	lamá-támmi pétte	'twenty-one'	lamá-támmi lamʔó	'twenty-two'
	haytsi-támmi pétte	'thirty-one'	haytsi-támmi lamʔó	'thirty-two'
	ʔoydi-támmi pétte	'fourty-one'	ʔoydi-támmi lamʔó	'fourty-two'
	dóngi-támmi pétte	'fifty-one'	dóngi-támmi lamʔó	'fifty-two'
	láhhi-támmi pétte	'sixty-one'	láhhi-támmi lamʔó	'sixty-two'
	lánkayi-támmi pétte	'seventy-one'	lánkayi-támmi lamʔó	'seventy-two'
	sállì-támmi pétte	'eighty-one'	sállì-támmi lamʔó	'eighty-two'
	tásufi-támmi pétte	'ninety-one'	tásufi-támmi lamʔó	'ninety-two'

There is one larger numeral after **tásufi támmi** 'ninety-nine'. This numeral, which is expressed with a morphologically simplex form, is attested in many other Omotic languages too. That is:

13. **s'ééta** 'hundred'

The following two are borrowed from Amharic (which itself has borrowed the word for 'million' from Italian or English). Note the slight phonetic difference between the Maale and Amharic forms.

14. **ʃiya** 'thousand' (cf. Amharic: **ʃih** 'thousand')
milóone 'million' (cf. Amharic: **milion** 'million')

Counting above hundred may involve the use of the Instrumental/conjunctive marker **-na**, as illustrated below:

- 15a. **s'ééta-na** **dóngi-támmi-na**
hundred-INST five-ten-INST
'one hundred fifty'
- 15b. **pétte ʃiya-na** **dóngo s'ééta-na** **dóngi-támmi** **dóngo**
one thousand-INST five hundred-INST five-ten five
'one thousand five hundred fifty five'

But note that the Instrumental is not attached to smaller numbers. Compare example (15) with (16) below:

16. **s'ééta-na dóngi-támmi dóngo**
 hundred-INST five-ten five
 'one hundred fifty five'

Cardinal numerals can be case-marked, as illustrated below:

17. **néení pétte-z-ó pas-á?o pétte-z-ó háffi**
 2SG one-DF-ABS criticise-CNV₂ one-DF-ABS IDEO
ge?-é bíya pas-aní ga?-á-mó
 say-2SG:IMP all criticise-PURP say-IPF-RHT:Q
 'Having expressed criticism on one (fault), leave the other. Do you mean to criticize everything?'

6.2.2 *Ordinals*

Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixing **-asi** or **-atsi** to the cardinal numerals. The final vowel of the cardinal numbers is replaced by the vowel of the suffix **-asi/atsi**.

18. **pétt-ási** 'the first'
lam?-ási 'the second'
haits-ási 'the third'
?oid-ási 'the fourth'
tá66-ási 'the fifth'

In larger numbers, **-ási** is affixed to the last number:

19. **tá66ó lam?-ási** 'the twentieth'
tá66ó lam?ó ?oid-ási 'the twenty fourth'

The suffix **-ási** changes to **-ásá** when the ordinal number is combined with another noun in the Absolutive case position:

- 20a. **haits-ása kéll-éll-ó né 6ok'is-á**
 Three-ORD day-F-ABS 2SG:NOM remember-IPF:Q
 'Do you remember (what happened on) the third day?'
- 20b. **Yizá tá66ó lam?-ása kéll-éll-ó paid-íba-se**
 3FS:NOM ten two-ORD day-F-ABS count-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She did not count the twelfth day'

When the noun which the numeral modifies is dropped, the case inflection is slightly different. When gender is not distinguished, this involves the gemination of the consonant preceding the Absolutive case marker **-ó**; a similar gemination process takes place when definiteness is involved.

21. **lamʔ-áss-ó ʔekk-é**
 two-ORD-ABS take-2SG:IMP
 'Take the second one'

If gender is marked, the case marker which matches the gender is selected:

- 22a. **ʔizi haits-ás-átsi kaizi baaka denk'-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM three-ORD-M:ABS forest:ABS middle find-PF-A:DCL
 'He found the third one (M) in the forest'
- 22b. **táání lamʔ-ása-z-ó zag-ibá-se**
 1SG:NOM two-ORD-DF-ABS see-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'I did not see the second one (F)'

6.2.3 *Quantifiers*

Maale has the following quantifiers.

23. **mirge** 'a lot, several'
dʔibi 'a lot, several'
gúbe 'all'
bía 'all'
ʔuuga 'a few (only of cattle)'
pétte pétte 'some, certain' (cf. **pétte** 'one')
tooka tooka 'each' (cf. **tookí** 'head')

Some of these quantifiers express the same meaning. Synchronically, no distinction could be made in their use: e.g., both **mirge** and **dʔibi** might be used with countable and uncountable nouns, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- 24a. **ʔizá-ko mirge waari ʔá-á-ne**
 3MS:GEN-GEN a lot goat exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'He has a lot of goats'
- 24b. **ʔizá-ko dʔibi waari ʔá-á-ne**
 3MS:GEN-GEN a lot goat exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'He has a lot of goats'
- 24c. **ʔíini dʔibi múʔ-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM a lot eat-PF-A:DCL
 'He ate a lot'
- 24d. **ʔíini mirge múʔ-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM a lot eat-PF-A:DCL
 'He ate a lot'

Similarly, **gúbe** 'all' and **bía** 'all' can be used interchangeably:

- 25a. **ʔiini gúbe na-att-ó ʔekk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM all child-PL-ABS take-PF-A:DCL
 'He took all the children'
- 25b. **ʔiini bia na-att-ó ʔekk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM all child-PL-ABS take-PF-A:DCL
 'He took all the children'

The quantifiers **díbi** and **gúbe** behave like adjectives and nominal modifiers in that the consonant before the terminal vowel of these quantifiers is geminated when the noun they modify is definite singular or indefinite plural. Note the formal difference of the quantifier in (26a-b) below, in which the quantifier occurs with indefinite/citation form nouns and those in (26c-d) in which it occurs with definite nouns.

- 26a. **gúbe ʔasi múʔ-andá-ya kóʔ-is-á-ne**
 all person:NOM eat-F:IPF-NMZ want-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'Every person needs to eat'
- 26b. **díbi laali mad-á-ne**
 several woman:NOM work-IPF-A:DCL
 'Several women are working'
- 26c. **gúbbe saʔʔ-á nee-ró-ke**
 all land-NOM 2SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ-BE:A:DCL
 'All the land is yours'
- 26d. **díbbó laaló-ntsi mad-á-ne**
 several:AGR woman-PL:DF:NOM work-IPF-A:DCL
 '(The) many women are working'

When used without a head noun, these quantifiers may also take nominal affixes such as definiteness, number and case, as illustrated below.

27. **tá díbbó-ntsi zag-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM all-PL:DF:ABS see-PF-A:DCL
 'I saw several of them'

6.3 Deictics

6.3.1 Demonstratives

Two basic forms of Demonstratives can be distinguished in Maale: **ha-** 'close to the speaker' and **yé-** 'far from the speaker'. No reference is made as to the location of the

hearer. The two basic demonstratives inflect for gender, number and case, as a result of which there are twelve distinct demonstratives listed below.

	close to the speaker	Far from the speaker
Nominative: M.	há-yí	yé-í
F.	há-nná	yé-nná
PL.	há-átá	yé-yátá
	ha-ntsí	ye-ntsí
Absolutive: M.	há-ya	yé-ya
F.	há-nnó	yé-nnó
PL.	há-áta	yé-yáta

The Nominative form of demonstratives occurs only in subject positions:

- 28a. hánná ta nayí-ke
this:F:NOM 1SG:GEN child-BE:A:DCL
'This is my daughter'
- 28b. hayí ta nayí-ke
this:M:NOM 1SG:GEN child-BE:A:DCL
'This is my son'
- 28c. háátá ta na-att-ó-ke
these:NOM 1SG:GEN child-PL-ABS-BE:A:DCL
'These are my children'

We use the term Absolutive to show the structural parallelism between demonstratives and nouns. Like nouns, demonstratives in the Absolutive case occur in direct object position of transitive verbs, as predicative categories and before secondary case markers. The following are examples:

- 29a. háya fank'-é
this:M:ABS buy-2SG:IMP
'Buy this!'
- 29b. háya-ke núú-m ?ála fank'-é-tsi
this:M:ABS-BE:A:DCL 1PL:ABS-DAT beer:ABS buy-PF-NMZ
'It is this one who bought beer for us'
- 29c. háya-m tá ?ing-é-ne
this:M:ABS-DAT 1SG:NOM give-PF-A:DCL
'To this one, I gave'

6.3.2 Locative deictic terms

The Locative deictic forms are expressed in one of the following two ways:

- ♦ with the combination of the basic demonstratives **ha-** or **ye-** and the Locative suffix **-ka**.

Close to the speaker	Far from the speaker
hai-ka 'here'	ye-ka 'there'
ha-ka 'here'	?ii-ka 'there'

The form **?ii-ka** 'there' above is related to the the third person pronoun **?i-** (see Chapter Four).

- ♦ with the combination of Locative adverbs and the Locative case marker **-ka**. Compare the Locative adverbs in (30a) with the deictic forms in (30b) below.

- 30a. **lóó** 'up'
lúú 'down'
sóó 'there on level ground / distant but visible place'

- 30b. **lé-ka** 'up there'
lí-ka 'down there'
sé-ka 'there on level ground, to the side of speaker'

In order to refer to a very distant but visible place the expression **péttó sóó** 'over there, on level ground or to the side of speaker' is used. **péttó** obviously involves the numeral **pétte** 'one'; with place deictic terms and with adjectives (e.g. **péttó púúppó** 'very big') **péttó** is used as an expression of degree.

As the list in (30b) shows the distal locative deictic terms are more detailed than their proximal counterparts. Thus, besides **yeka** and **?iika** 'there' in which no information about the altitude of the place in reference stated, the speaker can use the deictic words **léka** 'there, in altitude higher than where the speaker is found' or **líka** 'there, in altitude lower than where the speaker is found' and **séka** 'there, to the side of the speaker'. Hayward (1980: 284-5) reports that Dirayta, a Cushitic language, makes a parallel distinction of location relative to a plane horizontal to the speaker. In proximal deictic expressions, a similar meaning distinction is expressed through the use of two independent words: **haka lóó** 'here, a higher altitude than where the hearer is located' and **haka lúú** 'here, in a lower altitude than where the hearer is found'. There is no proximal expression corresponding to **séka**. (cf. Frawley 1992 who points out that finer distinction in distal deictic expressions is a tendency attested in many languages.)

Demonstratives and place deictic terms shown in example (30b) above can be combined to refer to/identify predicated nouns, as shown below (morpheme boundaries are ignored here).

- 31a. **yéy lékkéi ?oydíʃa-ke**
that:NOM up_there:M:NOM OyDisha-BE:A:DCL
'That, up there is OyDisha (M)'

- 31b. **yéy líkkéi ʔoydʒa-ke**
 that:NOM down_there:M:NOM OyDisha-BE:A:DCL
 'That, down there is OyDisha'
- 31c. **yéy sékkéi ʔoydʒa-ke**
 that:NOM to_the_side:M:NOM OyDisha-BE:A:DCL
 'That, sideways from the speaker is OyDisha'

Examples in (31) above illustrate masculine forms. The predicated proper nouns in example (32) below identify a female referent. In this case the demonstrative **yénná** 'that (f)' is used.

- 32a. **yénná lékká belet'éci-ke**
 that:F:NOM up_there:NOM Belet'ech-BE:A:DCL
 'That, up there is Beletech'
- 32b. **yénná líkká belet'éci-ke**
 that:F:NOM down_there:NOM Beletech-BE:A:DCL
 'That, down there is Beletech'
- 32c. **yénná sékká belet'éci-ke**
 that:F:NOM sideways:NOM Beletech-BE:A:DCL
 'That, over there / sideways is Beletech'

6.4 Adverbs

Using semantic parameters (cf. Payne 1997: 69) Maale adverbs are grouped into three: time, place and manner adverbs. Time adverbs tend to be expressed with simple lexical forms. Most of the place adverbs are derived from demonstratives. There are very few lexical manner adverbs. Manners is often expressed with ideophones (cf. Chapter Thirteen) or with adjectives, as will be shown below.

6.4.1 Time adverbs

The following expressions of time are deictic because they are dependent on the day of the utterance.

33. **hannó** 'today'
zíro 'tomorrow'
hintó 'the day after tomorrow'
hík'intso 'the fourth day, counting from the day of the conversation'
hík'imáylé 'the fifth day, counting from the day of the conversation'
hík'ihík'ó 'the sixth day, counting from the day of the conversation'
zírok'álfo 'the seventh day ; a week from today' (lit. tomorrow's belt)

ziginó	'yesterday'
wánte	'the night before (yesterday night)'
hínno galassi	'the day before yesterday'

Thus there are no fixed week-day references in Maale like the ones we find for example, in Amharic: *sāñño*, *maksāñño*, or in English: *Monday*, *Tuesday*. Next to the above deictic time adverbs, there are non-deictic time expressions such as the following:

34. **wode** 'time'
kélli 'day'
lé?e 'year'
?agínni 'month'
gútte 'morning'
róóri 'day time'
?ibánni 'late evening'
gidimifi 'midnight' (also expresses 'center, equally dividing line')

Some of the time expressions are made with compound forms as shown below.

35. **gútte wons'a** 'dawn' (gútte 'morning'; wons'a '?')
?abi d'úússi 'noon' (?abi 'sun'; d'úússi 'explosion')
?abi géle 'evening' (?abi 'sun'; géle- 'enter')
hánná lé?e 'this year' (hánná 'this:F' lé?e 'year')
hínna bere 'last year' (? yénna 'that:F'; bere '?')
bitsá bere 'the year before' (both components are unknown)

(The meanings of the component words *hínna*, *bere* and *bitsá* of the last two expressions are not known.) The following are illustrative sentences of time adverbials:

- 36a. **?ííní hannó mukk-andá-ne**
 3MS:NOM today come-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'He will come today'
- 36b. **?ízí hintó mukk-andá-ne**
 3MS:NOM the day after tomorrow come-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'He will come the day after tomorrow'
- 36c. **?ííní wánte mukk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM yesterday night come-PF-A:DCL
 'He came yesterday night'

The Maale have their own calendar consisting of thirteen months. While it is customary in Ethiopia to consider September as the first month of the year, following the national calendar, in the Maale calendar the first month of the year is December.

This division of the year into months is associated with the agricultural cycle, as when they say that such and such a month is a month for doing this or that farming activity. The exact number of days in a month, and the basis of calculation for dividing the year into months has not been studied in detail. From what informants described in terms of the Ethiopian calendar, we provide below a 'rough translation', by mentioning the name of the English month which coincides with the Maale terms.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| 37. | kílo | '1st month, in December' |
| | báre | '2nd month, in January' |
| | lááma | '3rd month, in February' |
| | dúúka | '4th month, in March' |
| | wóíbe | '5th month, in April' |
| | ?íjína | '6th month, in May' |
| | zeegílsa | '7th month, in June' |
| | k'oidá | '8th month, in July' |
| | lánkó | '9th month, in August' |
| | salló | '10th, starts some time between the end of August and September' |
| | tazu66 | '11th month, in September, a short month, counted on half moon' |
| | tá666 | '12th month, in September, a short month, counted on half moon' |
| | tá33e | '13th month, in October' |

It should be noted that many young native speakers' knowledge of the words listed in (37) is limited. Particularly those who followed formal education in Amharic in primary and secondary school tend to use the Amharic calendar. They know the names of the months but some are not sure about the order of the months or the number of days each month contains. Similarly, these speakers tend to use names of the week days in Amharic, e.g. *sāñño* 'Monday', *maksāñño* 'Tuesday', etc. instead of the deictic time references shown in (1) above.

Time adverbs corresponding to the English 'now', 'earlier', 'yet' etc. are also lexical:

- | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 38a. | ?-atsí | hátsi muk-á-ne | |
| | man-M:NOM | now | come-IPF-A:DCL |
| | 'The man is coming now' | | |
| 38b. | néení | wóndi gígín?-é-mó | lá-láh-é-y |
| | 2SG:NOM | earlier | sleep:INT-PF-RHT:Q lay_down:INT-PF-Q |
| | 'Earlier, were you really sleeping or lying down?' | | |
| 38c. | birí | keezz-é | kaa33-éll-ó keezz-á-ne |
| | earlier | tell-PF:REL | ritual-F-ABS tell-IPF-A:DCL |
| | '(He) is telling (about) the ritual which he told about earlier' | | |

- 38d. **táání túkó gidángi burk'-if-andá-ne**
 1SG:NOM coffee:ABS later boil-CAUS-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'I will make coffee later'

Expressions of time such as 'always', 'every day', etc. are expressed by compound forms:

- 39a. **Yíiní bíá wodé-na yeekk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM all time-INST cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is always crying'
- 39b. **laal-éll-á bíá kélli fark'-int-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM all day beat-PAS-IPF-A:DCL
 'The woman is beaten every day'
- 39c. **Yíiní hátsi hell-á?o ?á-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM now reach-CNV₂ exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is still alive'

6.4.2 Directional adverbs

Locative adverbs which are formed with the combination of demonstratives and locative markers are described in Chapter Three, section 3.5.2.4. Directional adverbs include **hangé** 'direction towards the speaker' and **songé** 'direction away from the speaker'. The use of these words is illustrated below.

- 40a. **Yíiní hánga mukk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM DIRECT come-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is coming towards here'
- 40b. **songé-na ?ing-é**
 DIRECT-INST give-2SG:IMP
 'Give me through that side (i.e., the side further away from the speaker)'
- 40c. **hangé-na ?ing-é**
 DIRECT-INST give-2SG:IMP
 'Give me through this side (i.e., the side close to the speaker)'

6.4.3 Manner adverbs

Maale has some lexical forms for expressing manner. These include: **pálle** which expresses 'to do something completely, honestly', as in the following:

41. **Yízi pálle mádf-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM really work-IPF-A:DCL
 'He works really good' (**kófi** 'good')

Another example is **haccá** 'badly'

- 42a. **taa-kó kúc'-á haccá kis'-áď-é-ne**
 1SG:GEN-GEN hand-NOM badly wound-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'My hand is badly wounded'
- 42b. **nu ʔác'c'-á haccá mel-é-ne**
 1PL:GEN area-NOM badly dry-PF-A:DCL
 'Our area became badly dry'

Converbs are often used as an adverbial modifier to a main verb (cf. Chapter Eight). The adverbials **saz-í** 'purposely' and **lam-í** 'again, repeatedly', in which the **-í** suffix seems to be the converb marker, however, are special since they seem to be derived from the noun **saza** 'heart' and the numeral **lamʔó** 'two' respectively and not from verbs.

- 43a. **ʔíní sazi muk-í túkk-ínt-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM purposely come-CNV₁ tie-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'He came purposely and got imprisoned'
- 43b. **ʔ-atsí lamí ʔééll-é-ne**
 person-M:NOM again call-PF-A:DCL
 'The man called out again'

There is also the adverbial **ʔerink'o** 'purposely, knowingly', which is derived from the verb **ʔer-** 'know'. Elsewhere, the suffix **-ink-** is attested only in one instance: as a verbalizer morpheme with predicative ideophones (cf. Chapter Thirteen).

44. **ďáább-ó kóʔ-á-ne geʔ-í ʔer-ink'o mélle**
 grave_stone-ABS search-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ knowingly another
baazzi kóʔ-áza
 thing:ABS search-TEMP₁
 'Saying that (they) are searching for the grave stone, while (they) purposely search for something else, ...'

The adjectives **kóʔi** 'good' and **púrta** 'bad' are attested as modifiers of verbs:

- 45a. **ʔíní kóʔi maď-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM good work-IPF-A:DCL
 'He works well' (**kóʔi** 'good')
- 45b. **ʔízí púrta maď-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM bad work-IPF-A:DCL
 'He works badly' or 'He works too much'
- 45c. **ʔízí púrta kis'-áď-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM bad wound-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'He is wounded badly' (**kitsi** 'wound')

In some cases a combination of an adjective or a noun and the Instrumental marker -na may denote an adverbial expression, as illustrated below.

- 46a. ʔííní rúúri-na ʔáád-é-ne
3MS:NOM haste-INST go-PF-A:DCL
'He left hurriedly'
- 46b. ʔííní k'amítsi-na mukk-andá-ne
3MS:NOM short-INST come-F:IPF-A:DCL
'He will come soon'

CHAPTER 7

SENTENCE TYPES AND MODALITY

Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 155) define 'sentence type' as "a coincidence of grammatical structure and conventional conversational use". Thus, according to these authors the term refers to both the grammatical structure as well as its function. Palmer (1986) on the other hand, uses terms such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, for formal/structural categories, and he takes their function such as making statements, asking questions, making commands, etc. as notional or 'semantic categories'. Palmer's two-way distinction is parallel to that already made in Lyons (1977). The notional categories which involve the expression of the speaker's attitudes, demands, opinions, factuality, etc., whether these are indicated by morphological elements on the verb or by lexical means, belong to the category of modality (cf. Lyons 1977, Palmer 1986).

In Maale four formal/structural categories or sentence types are distinguished: these are declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative sentence types. Some of these sentence types further distinguish various modal expressions related to the speaker's commitment, attitude, knowledge, etc. The imperative and optative forms are discussed in Chapter Five, together with other verbal inflectional categories because these do not only involve the modal category of 'command' and (good) will of the addressee, but also non-modal features such as person and number distinction on the verb. Interrogatives are discussed in detail in Chapter Ten. In this chapter emphasis is placed on declarative sentences.

7.1 Declaratives

Many languages possess structural means for marking interrogative, optative, and, to a lesser extent, imperative sentences. Declaratives however, tend to be formally unmarked cross-linguistically (cf. Lyons 1968: 307). This tendency is seen as their defining characteristic. For instance, in his dictionary of linguistic terminology Trask (1993: 73) writes: "The declarative is the least marked of all the mood categories, and in most languages it is expressed by constructions and verb forms which carry no overt marking of mood, all other distinctions of mood being overtly marked in some way." Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 159) make a similar claim: "Declaratives are characteristically unmarked (without special elements in them or any special ordering)." However, later in the same article they discuss a few languages which do

actually mark the declarative (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 165-167). In Maale all sentence types, including the declarative, are morphologically marked on the verb. In this language there are no unmarked independent sentences. Within the declarative, various forms are distinguished. Each type is discussed below.

7.1.1 *Simple declarative sentences*

Simple declarative affirmative sentences are distinguished by suffixing the morpheme *-ne* to the verb, whereas their negative counterparts are marked by suffixing *-se* to the verb. These are illustrated below in examples (1a-b) and (1c-d) respectively.

- 1a. ʔ-atsí ziginó mukk-é-ne
 person-M:NOM yesterday come-PF-A:DCL
 'The man came yesterday'
- 1b. ʔ-atsí máári maz3-á-ne
 person-M:NOM house:ABS build-IPF- A:DCL
 'The man is building a house'
- 1c. núú-m máári maz3-ínt-ibá-se
 1PL-DAT house:NOM build-PAS-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'No house is built for us'
- 1d. ʔ-atsí máári maz3-uwá-se
 person-M:NOM house:ABS build-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'The man is not building a house'

The morphemes *-ne* and *-se* in example (1) above, never co-occur with interrogative, imperative, or optative morphemes. Instead, *-ne* and *-se* are in paradigmatic contrast with these other modal markers. Furthermore, sentences with *-ne* and *-se* express simple, neutral statements. These are in contrast with other subtypes of declarative sentences which express emphasis, surprise or disapproval. In such attitudinal constructions *-ne* and *-se* are absent.

As the above examples illustrate, the morphemes *-ne* and *-se* can be combined with either Perfective or Imperfective aspects, and they occur only in independent clauses. If the independent clause in (2a) below is relativized as in (2b), the simple declarative sentence type marker does not occur.

- 2a. ʔ-atsí ziginó mukk-é-ne
 person-M:NOM yesterday come-PF-A:DCL
 'The man came yesterday'
- 2b. ʔ-atsí ziginó mukk-é sáátt-á
 person-M:NOM yesterday come-PF:REL time-NOM

ʔer-int-uwá-se

know-PAS-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'The time when the man came yesterday is not known'

One exception to the above claim is the quotative clause. In quotative clauses, *-ne* or *-se* do occur with the verb in the quoted clause as illustrated in (3) below. In this respect, the quotative in Maale does not behave in a similar way to other dependent clauses (see Chapter Eleven). Except for its obligatory occurrence with the quotative verb *geʔ-* 'say', there are no other ways to distinguish it from main clauses. This may be because quotative clauses in this language involve 'direct speech' forms, i.e., a reported speech represents the actual utterance of the quoted speaker. The indirect speech form is not used in Maale. Consider the following two connected reported speech forms.

- 3a. ʔiʃé táání harg-int-é-ne gaʔ-á-ne
 eldest brother:NOM 1SG:NOM be_sick-PAS-PF-A:DCL say-IPF-A:DCL
 '(My) eldest brother says: "I am sick"'

- 3b. ʔind-á harg-int-ibá-se bels'-umó-ke
 mother:NOM be_sick-PAS-PF:NEG-N:DCL lazy-NMZ-BE:A:DCL
 ʔádé ʔizá ʃark'-óm geʔ-é-ne
 father:NOM 3MS:ABS beat-3OPT say-PF-A:DCL
 '(My) mother says: "He is not sick. It is laziness. Let father beat him!"'

Also, mental process verbs, e.g. *mal-* 'think' and expressions of intention are given as quoted speeches:

- 4a. ʔííní ʔiyátá mádd'-ó ʔek'-is-é-ne geʔ-í
 3MS:NOM 3PL:NOM work-ABS stop-CAUS-PF-A:DCL say-CNV₁
 mal-é-ne
 think-PF-A:DCL
 'He thought that they stopped working'
- 4b. gé-m-átsí maatt-ó múʔ-á-ne geʔ-í mágg-ó
 ox-M:NOM grass-ABS eat-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ cliff-ABS
 ʔáád'-é-ne
 go-IPF-A:DCL
 'The ox fell off the cliff when it was trying to eat the grass'

The morphemes *-ne* and *-se* *normally* occur in sentence-final position. However, when the word order is altered for pragmatic reasons, these two suffixes occur in sentence-medial position, as the following three examples illustrate. This indicates

that these morphemes are not sentence boundary markers as claimed for some related languages (see below).

- 5a. **lamʔ-asá ʔabbó ʔanní-m ʔing-á-ne laal-éll-ó**
 two-ORD sun husband-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL woman-F-ABS
 'On the second day, they give the woman to her husband'
- 5b. **haimma hell-áʔʔó ʔá-á-ne táání s'oossi wolk'á-na**
 this:DIM reach-CNV₂ exist-IPF-A:DCL 1SG:NOM God:GEN power-INST
 'Up to now I exist through the power of God'
- 5c. **wáár-á d'eeff-é-to wóy más'-á d'eeff-é-to**
 goat-NOM cure-PF-CND DISJ bee-NOM cure-PF-CND
ʃoʔ-int-á-ne naʔʔ-á
 born-PAS-IPF-A:DCL child-NOM
 'If goats (with their blood) or bees (with their honey) cure (the mother), the baby will be born'

7.1.2 *The mirative*

Payne (1997: 255) uses the term mirativity to refer to "grammaticalized ways of expressing how well a piece of information is integrated into the speaker's store of previous knowledge. For example, in many languages there is a distinction between the expression of information that is surprising versus that which is unsurprising or expected." In Maale surprise or unexpectedness are stated by using the suffix *-y*. A sentence with this modality marker may start with the interjection particle *ká* as in (6a) below (cf. Chapter Thirteen on interjections).

- 6a. **ká hay-í ʔamm-é-y**
 INTJ this-NOM give fruit-PF-MIR
 'Oh, this has given fruit! (talking of a three year-old mango tree)'
- 6b. **nu ʔádé gem-atsi ʃanc-á-y**
 1PL:GEN father:NOM ox-M:ABS sell-IPF-MIR
 'Our father is selling the ox! (contrary to the speaker's expectation)'

The suffix *-y* in the above examples looks formally similar to the interrogative marker *-y* which co-occurs with content question words (see below). However, these two are distinct forms, since the interrogative morpheme does not occur with the perfective aspect marker whereas the morpheme marking surprise occurs both with the Perfective and Imperfective morphemes. There is also a clear difference in intonation between these two sentence types: the interrogative with a content question word may be uttered with a level intonation throughout the sentence which is similar to the intonation in simple declarative sentences or it may, alternatively, start with level

intonation and end in rising intonation. On the other hand, a sentence with the verb marked for surprise starts with a rising intonation and ends with a sharply falling intonation. (Unfortunately, our impressions on the intonation pattern of various sentences could not be systematically studied with the help of instruments.)

7.1.3 *The veridical*

The veridical, as Payne (1997: 254) states expresses "an increased intensity of the truth of the proposition". This description of the term veridical captures the function of the morpheme -i in Maale (see also section 7.1.5 below for examples). When this morpheme is suffixed to a verb root it obligatorily changes all low tone vowels in the verb root to high tone. For example, the verb root **keezz-** 'tell' has low tone. In its veridical form in (7b), however, this verb root is realized with high tone. The same is true with **?ekk-** 'take' in example (8).

- 7a. **néení háík'k'-á ?así-m keezz-á**
 you.NOM die-IPF:REL person:ABS-DAT tell-IPF:Q.
 'Do you tell to the person who dies (that he is going to die)?'
- 7b. **kéézz-i**
 tell-VER
 'Yes, I certainly do!'

The veridical may be used to make a positive assertion in the context in which its denial is expected. For example, the participant who utters the interrogative sentence in (7a) expects a negative response. The response in (7b) does not meet this expectation and is expressed with increased emphasis or intensity. Similarly, a command such as that in (8) below is made with the expectation that it is obeyed. The speaker, however, may strongly assert his refusal with the veridical form.

8. **?ekk-íppo ?ékk-i**
 take-NEG:IMP take:VER
 'Do not take!' 'Yes, I will certainly take'

7.1.4 *The informative*

In Maale the suffix -(i)skay is used when one makes a statement which the speaker thinks is completely new to the other speech participant(s). This suffix is mainly used in expressing past events.

- 9a. **dingicá gabi gel-iskay**
 sweet potato:NOM market:ABS enter-NEW:DCL
 'Sweet potatoes are sold in the market'

- 9b. **daane maalle múcci gap-is-i ?áád-iskay**
 Don Maale language finish-CAUS-CNV₁ go-NEW:DCL
 'Don learnt the Maale language fluently before he left'

- 9c. **lúú d'íll-á ?áá-skay**
 down flour-NOM exist-NEW:DCL
 'There is flour in (the house) down there'

In (9a) the speaker assumes that based on general knowledge about seasonal variation, the hearer does not have the information the speaker volunteers. The same is true with the utterances in (9b) and (9c) which indicate the subjective judgment of the speaker towards his addressee's state of knowledge. Interestingly, we have one example in which the same modality marker is used in a context in which it is not expected. The utterance in (10) below was addressed to someone who was wearing shoes which were much too big for her and kept walking in and out of a room with a cemented floor creating a lot of noise with her steps.

10. **hayí c'aamm-á néná dees's'-iskay**
 this:M:NOM shoe-NOM 2SG:ABS be heavy-NEW:DCL
 'This shoe is heavy for you!' (lit. 'this shoe is burdening you')

In this context **-(i)skay** is used in a remark about a situation which was obvious to all participants. With this, the speaker expresses annoyance and was indirectly suggesting that the addressee should do something about it. It is possible that the other modal markers described above also have implicational uses, but this is not known.

7.1.5 *The potential*

In Maale declarative sentences, the factual and potential sentences are not marked by distinct morphemes. The distinction between these two involves the form of the verb used in the potential: a 'possible' or 'potential' event is expressed in a relative clause form. This relative clause is then immediately followed by the predicative verb **n-**. The latter verb takes the Future Imperfective aspect marker and the simple declarative affirmative sentence type marker **-ne**. Compare the factual sentence in (11a) with the potential in (11b) below.

- 11a. **nu ʔind-á ziginó mukk-é-ne**
 1PL:GEN mother-NOM yesterday come-PF-A:DCL
 'Our mother came yesterday'
- 11b. **nu ʔind-á ziginó mukk-é n-andá-ne**
 1PL:GEN mother-NOM yesterday come-PF:REL BE-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Perhaps our mother came yesterday'
 (lit. 'Our mother will be the one who has come yesterday')

Sentences expressing possibility may be preceded by a 'sentential modifier' ʔóóréy, which seems to be a contracted form of ʔóóní ʔeréy 'who knows?'

- 12a. ʔóóréy nu ʔind-á mukk-andá n-andá-ne.
 S:MODF 1PL:GEN mother-NOM come-F:IPF:REL BE-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Who knows, maybe our mother will come'

Compare:

- 12b. nu ʔind-á mukk-andá-ne
 1PL:GEN mother-NOM come-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Our mother will come'

Declarative sentence types discussed so far involve main verbs. There is also a declarative sentence type marker which is used in non-verbal sentences, as shown in the next section.

7.1.6 *The declarative in non-verbal sentences*

Non-verbal declarative affirmative sentences are marked by **-ke**. Consider, for example, the following equative and attributive non-verbal sentences.

- 13a. hayí ta nayí-ke
 this:M:NOM 1SG:GEN child:ABS-BE:A:DCL
 'This is my child'
- 13b. waas'-á ʃimmé-ke
 water-NOM cold-BE:A:DCL
 'The water is cold'

Nominals (nouns, adjectives and numerals) which have low tone on all vowels get high tone on their last vowel when they occur before **-ke**. At first glance, **-ke** appears to be a "predicative verb". There are reasons for analysing **-ke** as a sentence type marker and not as a predicative verb. Firstly, like **-ne** and **-se**, **-ke** does not occur with other sentence type markers. The negative of the above sentences, for example, needs a predicative verb which takes the same sentence type markers as main verbs discussed in the previous sections.

- 14a. waas'-á ʃimme t-uwá-se
 water-NOM cold BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'The water is not cold'
- 14b. hayí ta nayi t-uwá-se
 this:M:NOM 1SG:GEN child:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'This is not my child'

The following sentence shows that **-ke** does not occur in interrogative sentences either:

15. hayí waatsi t-uwá-y
 this:M:NOM water:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-Q
 'Is this not water?'

Secondly, when the above non-verbal sentences are changed to dependent clauses, they obligatorily take one of the predicative verbs **t-** or **d-**. Thus, **-ke** never occurs in dependent clauses. The following sentences illustrate dependent clauses with predicative verbs.

- 16a. waas'-á Jimme t-á-to táání ?úfk-andá-ne
 water-NOM cold BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM drink-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the water is cold, I will drink it'
- 16b. waas'-á Jimme d-á-to táání ?úfk-andá-ne
 water-NOM cold BE-IPF-CND 1SG:NOM drink-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the water had been cold, I would have drunk it'

Thirdly, and more importantly, non-verbal sentences with **-ke** express simple assertions (just like **-ne** and **-se** in verbal sentences). Comparable equative or attributive sentences which expresses a stronger commitment about the truth on the part of the speaker need a predicative verb and the same veridical marker **-i** as in main verbs (cf. section 7.1.3 above). With the predicative verb **t-**, the veridical suffix **-i** is realized with high tone. Note the contrast in the (a) and (b) forms in the following examples:

- 17a. hayí garzanté-ke fóófi t-uwá-se
 this:M:NOM kind of lizard-BE:A:DCL snake:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'This is a (kind of) lizard. It is not a snake'
- 17b. hayí garzante t-í ?áiddó fóófi d-á-y
 this:NOM kind of lizard:ABS BE-VER when snake:ABS BE-IPF-Q
 'This is a (*kind of*) lizard. It is not at all a snake!'
 (lit. This is a (*kind of*) lizard. When has it ever been a snake?)
- 18a. Yízi taa-kó legaté-ke
 3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN friend-BE:A:DCL
 'He is my friend'
- 18b. Yízi taakó legate t-í
 3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN friend BE-VER
 'He is my *friend*!'

Notice that the sentences in (17b) and (18b) need the predicative verb *t-*. Furthermore, the declarative sentences in (17a) and (18a) may be speaker-initiated whereas their veridical counterparts (in the 17b and 18b) are hearer-initiated. That is, the latter are used when the speaker is reacting to statements already made or questions addressed to him/her. From the examples shown in this section, we conclude that like the declarative sentence type markers *-ne* and *-se*, *-ke* in Maale identifies simple assertions or neutral descriptive sentences as opposed to emphatic or attitudinal ones.

7.2 Interrogatives

There are several ways of forming the interrogative in Maale (for details, see Chapter Ten). In this section we briefly show the form of the interrogative in 'yes_or_no' questions and interrogative sentences involving content question words, and an interrogative form expressing *doubt* on the part of the speaker.

7.2.1 Polar interrogatives

In the Perfective aspect, yes_or_no questions are distinguished with the morpheme *-íya* suffixed to the verb; in the Imperfective aspect, the interrogative is marked with rising intonation. Note also that, in addition to the distinction in intonation, Imperfective interrogatives differ from Imperfective declarative sentences by the fact that the latter always occur with one of the declarative sentence markers *-ne* or *-se*. Examples (19) and (20) below illustrate Perfective and Imperfective interrogative sentences respectively:

- 19a. *?-atsí muk-k-íya*
 person-M:NOM come-PF:Q
 'Did the man come?'
- 19b. *?anní-m nééní múúzzi kats-íya*
 husband:ABS-DAT 2SG:NOM food:ABS cook-PF:Q
 'Did you cook food for your husband?'
- 20a. *?-atsí muk-k-á*
 person-M:NOM come-IPF:Q
 'Is the man coming?'
- 20b. *suugatsi-m nééní mad-á*
 chief:ABS-DAT 2SG:NOM work-IPF:Q
 'Do you work for the chief?'

7.2.2 *Non-polar interrogatives*

Non-polar interrogative sentences, i.e., those involving content question words are distinguished by suffixing -y to the verb. This suffix may be preceded either by Perfective or Imperfective aspect markers.

- 21a. **néení ʔaig-ó maɗ-á-y**
 2SG:NOM what:ABS work-IPF-Q
 'What are you doing?'
- 21b. **ʔizá-m né ʔaigó kats-é-y**
 3MS:ABS-DAT 2SG:NOM what:ABS cook-PF-Q
 'What did you cook for him?'
- 21c. **ʔóó-m néení kats-á-y**
 who-DAT 2SG:NOM cook-IPF-Q
 'For whom are you cooking?'

7.2.3 *The dubitative*

The Dubitative is expressed by -sinway. In this case the speaker has the opinion that the event expressed should not take place. However, the speaker doubts that others share the same view.

22. **kás's'-é ʔóisi-na tíft-ínt-é-ne**
 ripe-PF:REL butter:ABS-INST smear:REFL-PAS-PF-A:DCL
gonte zaʔʔ-andá-sinway
 however stink-F:IPF-DUB:Q
 '(I) had to smear myself with old butter but it may be stinking, right?'

The morpheme -sinway may not be a true interrogative marker since it occurs with forms which independently express questions. As discussed in Chapter Ten, -ondó expresses the permissive question (23a). In example (23b) below, this morpheme is followed by the dubitative marker. Compare the following two question forms.

- 23a. **ʔaare zála-na ʔizó-m keezz-ondó**
 Aari half-INST 3FS:ABS-DAT tell-PERM:Q
 'May I tell her about the Aari clan?'
- 23b. **ʔaare zála-na ʔizó-m keezz-ondó-sinway**
 Aari half-INST 3FS:ABS-DAT tell-PERM:Q-DUB:Q
 'Shall I tell her about the Aari clan or not?'

Thus, it is possible that the Dubitative form is used in non-interrogative sentences as well. In his word lists, Donham (unpublished field notes) translates -sinway as

'maybe'. However, in our data the dubitative is interpreted by informants as a question form.

7.3 The imperative

As shown in Chapter Five, Maale has three non-negative imperative markers, which differ from each other in the degree of politeness. These are:

- ♦ The regular imperative, which is marked by affixing **-é** to the verb for second person singular, and by **-uwáte** for second person plural, as illustrated in the following examples:

24a. **haní mukk-é** 'Come here!'
here come-2SG:IMP

24b. **haní mukk-uwáte** 'Come here!'
here come- 2PL:IMP

- ♦ The polite imperative in which the verb takes the additional morpheme **-tera** after the morphemes marking regular imperative. Thus, the polite form for second person singular is marked by **-éterá** while that for second person plural is marked by **-uwátera**.

25. **néé-m ʔizá najk-é-to ʔekk-éterá**
2SG-DAT 3SG:NOM like-PF-CND take-2SG:POL:IMP
'If she pleases you, please marry her!'

- ♦ The impolite imperative which is marked by **-ibay**. Unlike the previous two, the impolite imperative does not mark number distinction.

In the negative, the polite-impolite distinction is neutralized; however, the singular/plural distinction is maintained.

26a. **mukk-ippo** 'Do not come!'
come-2SG:NEG:IMP

26b. **mukk-ippote** 'Do not come!'
come-2PL:NEG:IMP

7.4 The optative

The optative in Maale has two forms: **-óm** which may be used with both first and third person, and **-óngo** or **-ónk'o**, which are used only with third person forms.

- 27a. *ʔízi ta naʔʔ-ó ʔekk-óngó*
 3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN child-ABS take-OPT
 'Let him marry my daughter'
- 27b. *núúní ʔááɫ-óm*
 1PL:NOM go-OPT
 'Let us go'

As shown above, in Maale every sentence type is morphologically spelled out. Particularly interesting in this regard is the declarative sentence type, which in Maale is not only morphologically distinguished from other sentence types, but also has different forms for declarative affirmative and declarative negative. Some of these modality markers co-occur with aspect markers while others do not. This is shown in the summary given below, in which AP stands for aspect and affirmative/negative polarity, MOD+STP for modality and sentence type markers. The descriptions on the right show the function of a sentence with these forms. The order of these morphemes with regard to the verb root is: Verb Root-(AP)-MOD +STP.

Looking at genetically related languages, we find in Zayse, another Omoto language spoken in South Ethiopia, morphemes which have similar functions as the morphemes *-ne*, *-se* and *-ke* in Maale (Hayward 1990). The Zayse morphemes are analysed as Final Predication Marking (FPM) elements or sentence terminal elements. Noting that the morphemes in question are absent in dependent clauses, Hayward (1990) considers what could be an alternative analysis: to identify them as the so-called "selectors" or sentence type markers found in some Cushitic languages such as Somali (Saeed 1984).

SUMMARY OF MAALE SENTENCE TYPE MARKERS:

<u>AP</u>	<u>MOD+STP</u>	
-é/-á-	-ne	Declarative Affirmative
-ibá/-uwá-	-se	Declarative Negative
-é/-á-	-y	Declarative, Mirative
-é/-á-	-i	Declarative, Veridical
-é/-á-	-y	Interrogative (+ content question word)
—	-ískáy	Declarative, New
—	-sinway	Declarative, Dubitative
—	-ke	Declarative-Affirmative, Non-Verbal Sentence
—	-iya	Interrogative Perfective (yes/no answer)
—	-é	Imperative (2SG)
—	-uwáte	Imperative (2PL)
—	-íppo	Imperative (NEG: 2SG)
—	-íppote	Imperative (NEG:2PL)
—	-óm	Optative (1 + 3P)
—	-óngó/ónk'o	Optative (3P only)

CHAPTER 8

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences in Maale may contain one or more syntactically dependent clauses and one main clause, or they may consist of two or more independent clauses. As shown in Chapter Seven, independent sentences in Maale are characterized by clause final illocutionary force morphemes which classify the utterance as an assertion, interrogation, manipulative, etc. Dependent clauses are those sentential constructions which are not marked with these morphemes, and which, accordingly, cannot form a complete utterance on their own. There are, however, restricted, pragmatically determined uses of dependent clauses as main clauses, as will be shown towards the end of this chapter.

Dependent clauses in Maale can be divided into four subgroups: Quotative clauses, Relative clauses, Complement clauses, and Adverbial clauses. The latter three are identified in Thompson and Longacre (1985) as cross-linguistically widely attested ways of subordinating a predicate. However, to this we add quotative clauses since although the quotative clause is in itself syntactically and semantically independent in Maale, it nevertheless obligatorily occurs in combination with a main clause headed by the verb *ge?*- 'say'. These four clause types are similar in exhibiting syntactic and/or semantic dependency to a nominal or verbal head. However, each of these is different morpho-syntactically and each contains several subgroups within it. For example, apart from being headed by a nominal category, relative clauses differ from other dependent clauses in having no affix indicating the dependent status of the clause. All other dependent clauses have affixes indicating their syntactic and semantic dependency. Like other dependent clauses, quotative clauses are semantically dependent but syntactically independent. Complement clauses differ from other dependent clauses in that they have a special morphological marker; moreover, the complement clause functions as an argument of a verb in a higher clause. In sections 8.1 through 8.6 dependent clauses are discussed; section 8.7 presents a brief description of co-ordinate clauses.

8.1 Relative clauses

The following combination of three features characterizes relative clauses in Maale: a) a relative clause has no sentence type or dependent clause type markers; b) a relative clause is headed by a nominal category; c) a relative clause involves omitting one of

the arguments of the dependent clause, i.e. it employs the gapping strategy of relativization (cf. Comrie 1976).

Of the above three features, (a) is particularly important. Feature (b) is not a defining characteristic for relative clauses, since the so-called 'headless relative clauses', or 'nominalized relative clauses', as they are referred to in this study, are frequently used in the language; also, although the feature in (c) is systematically employed in relative clauses, given the right context, it is possible to omit arguments from main clauses as well. On the other hand (a) is important, because relative clauses differ from main clauses and other dependent clauses in not having any of those affixes which (besides other functions) can indicate the syntactic status of a clause.

Two basic types of relative clauses are identified in Maale; both types have similar syntax but they differ morphologically. These are: 1) relative clauses in which the verb of the relative clause is affixed with verbal inflectional markers indicating aspect and/or polarity; 2) relative clauses in which the verb of the relative clause is marked with affixes identified in the nominal category, namely those marking case. Those belonging to the first group are functionally comparable to 'restrictive relative clauses' attested in many languages, e.g. English in that they denote specific referents whereas those in the second group refer to non-specific/generic nouns. The latter do not 'constrain the domain of relativization', and thus are similar to 'non-restrictive-relative clauses' (cf. Keenan (1985: 169) who mentions this as one of the features distinguishing restrictive relative clauses from non-restrictive relative clauses.) We use the terms 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive' to refer to type-one and type-two relative clauses in Maale respectively, even though the Maale clauses may differ in some semantic details from that observed in other languages. The two types of Maale relative clauses are discussed in detail next.

8.1.1 *Restrictive relative clauses*

Restrictive relative clauses mainly involve definite nouns. Formally, restrictive relative clauses differ from non-restrictive relative clauses in that they end in one of the suffixes -é-, -á-, -uwá-, or -ibá-, which have been identified in Chapter Five as aspect and/or polarity markers. The relative clause precedes the head noun and it contains no co-referential pronominal element to the relativized noun. Compare the following examples:

- 1a. ʔatsí ziginó mukk-é-ne
 person:M:NOM yesterday come-PF-A:DCL
 'The man came yesterday'
- 1b. ʔííní [[ziginó mukk-é] ʔatsi] zag-é-ne
 3MS:NOM yesterday come-PF:REL person:M:ABS see-PF-A:DCL
 'He saw the man who came yesterday'

Relative clauses in Maale take the same aspect and polarity markers as main clauses. Example (1) above illustrates a relative clause with Perfective aspect. In (2) below, we illustrate relative clauses in the Imperfective aspect:

- 2a. **táání** [[**gárci ʔas-á** **keezz-á** **miná haiss-ó**]
1SG:NOM old people-NOM tell-IPF:REL ancient speech-ABS

naʔk-uwá-se

like-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'I do not like stories which old people tell'

- 2b. **táání** [[**na-att-ó-m** **miná haiss-ó** **keezz-andá**]
1SG:NOM child-PL-ABS-DAT ancient speech-ABS tell-F:IPF:REL

naʔʔ-éll-ó] **zag-é-ne**

child-F-ABS see-PF-A:DCL

'I saw the girl who will tell stories to the children'

Examples (3) and (4) below illustrate Perfective negative and Imperfective negative relative clauses respectively.

- 3a. **gabáro-ntsí** **miná haiss-ó** **na-att-ó-m**
farmer-DF:PL:NOM ancient speech-ABS child-PL-ABS-DAT

keezz-ibá-se

tell-PF:NEG-N:DCL

'The farmers did not tell stories to children'

- 3b. [[**miná haiss-ó** **na-att-ó-m** **keezz-ibá**] **gabáro-ntsí**]
ancientspeech-ABS child-PL-ABS-DAT tell-PF:NEG farmer-DF:PL:NOM
'The farmers who did not tell stories to children'

- 4a. **gabáro-ntsí** **miná haiss-ó** **na-att-ó-m**
farmer-DF:PL:NOM ancient speech-ABS child-PL-ABS-DAT

keezz-uwá-se

tell-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'The farmers do not tell stories to children'

- 4b. [[**miná haiss-ó** **na-att-ó-m** **keezz-uwá**]
ancient speech-ABS child-PL-ABS-DAT tell-IPF:NEG:REL

gabáro-ntsí]

farmer-DF:PL:NOM

'The farmers who do not tell stories to children'

With regard to tense-aspect marking in 'prenominal relative clauses', i.e., such as those found in Maale in which the relative clause precedes the head noun, Keenan (1985: 160) states the following:

In prenominal RCS, Vrel is almost always in some sort of non-finite form, that is a form different from the one it would have as the main verb of a simple declarative sentence. Typically, Vrel exhibits a reduction in tense-aspect marking and in verb agreement morphology....

In Maale, although Vrel and the main verb in a declarative sentence are formally distinct, there is no tense reduction in the relative verb, as shown in examples (1-4) above. The aspect markers used in relative clauses are identical to those in main clauses.

In main clauses, the most frequently used constituent order is SOV. This is also the case in relative clauses (cf. examples (1-2) above). Both in main and in relative clauses the order of constituents can be altered. However, there is a crucial difference between these two clauses with regard to the position of the verb. Whereas in main clauses postverbal subject, object or adverbial are allowed, in relative clauses (and also in other dependent clauses) the verb obligatorily occurs in clause-final position. Consider the following examples:

- 5a. [[ziginó naʔʔ-ó-m miifje ʔing-é] ʔatsí]
 yesterday child-ABS-DAT money:ABS give-PF:REL person:M:NOM
 'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday'

Alternatively:

- 5b. naʔʔ-ó-m ziginó miifje ʔing-é ʔatsí
 child-ABS-DAT yesterday money:ABS give-PF:REL person:M:NOM
 'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday'
- 5c. miifje ziginó naʔʔ-ó-m ʔing-é ʔatsí
 money:ABS yesterday child-ABS-DAT give-PF:REL person:M:NOM
 'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday'
- 5d. miifje naʔʔ-ó-m ziginó ʔing-é ʔatsí
 money:ABS child-ABS-DAT yesterday give-PF:REL person:M:NOM
 'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday'

But not:

- 6a. *ziginó ʔing-é naʔʔ-ó-m miifje ʔatsí
 yesterday give-PF:REL child-ABS-DAT money:ABS person:M:ABS

- 6b. *ziginó miiſſe ʔing-é naʔʔ-ó-m ʔatsí
 yesterday money:ABS give-PF:REL child-ABS-DAT person:M-ABS
- 6c. *naʔʔ-ó-m ziginó ʔing-é miiſſe ʔatsí
 child-ABS-DAT yesterday give-PF:REL money:ABS person:M-ABS

One of the topics in the discussion of relative clauses involves the extent to which a language allows complement nouns with different grammatical relations to be relativized (cf. Comrie 1976, Givón 1995 among others). In Maale, subject, object, and nouns with various peripheral case roles can be relativized. Examples (1a) and (1b) above illustrate subject relativization. The following example illustrates object relativization.

- 7a. naʔʔ-éll-á táá-m miná haiss-ó keezz-é-ne
 child-F-NOM 1SG-DAT ancient speech-ABS tell-PF-A:DCL
 'The girl told me a story'
- 7b. [[táání naʔʔ-éll-ó-ídda-ppa waiz-é] mina haiss-á]
 1SG:NOM child-F-ABS-LOC-ABL hear-PF:REL ancient speech-NOM
 k'ára-ke
 good-BE:A:DCL
 'The story which I heard from the girl is good'
- 7c. [[táání naʔʔ-éll-ó-ídda-ppa waiz-é] mina haiss-ó]
 1SG:NOM child-F-ABS-LOC-ABL hear-PF:REL ancient speech-ABS
 s'aaf-á-ne
 write-IPF-A:DCL
 'I am writing down the story which I heard from the girl'

Nouns with Locative, Instrumental or Ablative case can also be relativized. As with the relativization of subject and object nouns above, the head noun is marked only for its syntactic function in the main clause. There is no morphological information available about the (original) case role of the relativized noun in relation to the verb in the relative clause. Compare the following examples.

- 8a. néení waatsi ʔótt-ó-na kis's'-é-ne
 2SG:NOM water:ABS pot-ABS-INST draw-PF-A:DCL
 'You drew water with the pot'
- 8b. [[néení waas'-ó kis's'-é] ʔótt-éll-á háik'k'-é-ne
 2SG:NOM water-ABS draw-PF:REL pot-F-NOM die-PF-A:DCL
 'The pot with which you drew the water is broken'

In the main clause in (8a) above, the noun ʔot- 'pot' is marked with the Instrumental. When this noun is relativized as in (8b), the Instrumental case marker

is dropped. In this example, *ʔot-* 'pot' is marked only for its case role in relation to the verb in the main clause, i.e., as the subject of *háik'k-* 'die' it receives the Nominative case. The interpretation of the noun *ʔot-* 'pot' in (8b) as having an Instrumental function in the relative clause is indirect. If instead of this noun the head noun in (8b) were an animate noun, there could be more than one interpretation possible for the relative clause, as will be shown below.

Similarly, the Locative case of a noun is absent if this noun is relativized. Compare (9a) and (9b).

- 9a. *ʔízi ʔafill-ó wór-a mask-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM cloth-ABS river-LOC wash-PF-A:DCL
 'He washed the cloth in the river'
- 9b. [*ʔízi ʔafill-ó mask-é*] *wór-á púúpi-ke*
 3MS:NOM cloth-ABS wash-PF river-NOM big-BE:A:DCL
 'The river in which he washed the cloth is big'

The same holds true for the Ablative, as can be seen from the difference in the following two examples.

- 10a. *ʔííní ba-at-ó wór-ó-ppa ʔekk-í yeʔ-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM cow-PL-ABS river-ABS-ABL take-CNV₁ come-PF-A:DCL
 'He brought the cattle from the river'
- 10b. [*ʔííní ba-at-ó ʔekk-í yeʔ-é*] *wór-ó*
 3MS:NOM cow-PL-ABS take-CNV₁ come-PF:REL river-ABS
nééní ʔer-á
 2SG:NOM know-IPF:Q
 'Do you know the river from which he brought the cattle?'

Because of the omission of the case role of the head noun within the relative clause itself, some relative clauses can have more than one interpretation. The ambiguity is particularly obvious with motion and direction verbs which can take alternative arguments with contrasting case roles. For instance, the verb *ʔekk-i yeʔ-* 'bring' can take Agent, Patient and Source nouns, or it can take Agent, Patient, and Goal nouns. Thus, example (10b) above can alternatively express: 'Do you know the river to which he brought the cattle?' (Note, however, that this latter meaning would involve a slight change in the expression of the Location of the speaker, i.e., that the cattle are brought close to where the speaker is located and not exactly to where he is found.) Similarly, with the verb *talʔ-* 'lend/borrow' the distinction between example (11a) and (11b) below, cannot be maintained if the noun *naʔʔ-* 'child' is relativized as in (11c).

- 11a. **táání naʔʔ-éll-ó-idda-ppa miiʃfe talʔ-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM child-F-ABS-LOC-ABL money:ABS borrow-PF-A:DCL
 'I borrowed money from the girl'
- 11b. **táání naʔʔ-éll-ó-m miiʃfe talʔ-é-ne**
 1SG:NOM child-F-ABS-DAT money:ABS borrow-PF-A:DCL
 'I lent money to the girl'
- 11c. **[[táání miiʃfe talʔ-é] naʔʔ-éll-á] hayi-ka**
 1SG:NOM money-ABS borrow child-F-NOM this:M-LOC
bá-se
 exist_not-N:DCL
 'The girl to whom I lent money is not here'
 'The girl from whom I borrowed money is not here'

However, in most cases the above ambiguity can be avoided by spelling out the case role of the non-relativized nouns in the clause differently. For instance, example (11c) above is disambiguated as shown in (12a) and (12b) below:

- 12a. **[[táa-m miiʃf-ó talʔ-é] naʔʔ-éll-á] hayi-ka bá-se**
 1SG-DAT money-ABS borrow child-F-NOM this-LOC exist_not-N:DCL
 'The girl who lent me money is not here'
- 12b. **[[táa-ppa miiʃf-ó talʔ-é] naʔʔ-éll-á] hayi-ka bá-se**
 1SG-ABL money-ABS borrow child-F-NOM this-LOC exist_not-N:DCL
 'The girl who borrowed money from me is not here'

Alternatively, the information expressed in example (12a) may be expressed as in (13) below; in this case, the meaning of the verb **talʔ-** 'borrow' now changed into a complex predicate form_ allows only one semantic role for the pronoun **táání** 'I' in the relative clause, namely the recipient role.

13. **[[táání miiʃf-ó talʔ-i ʔekk-é] naʔʔ-éll-á] hayi-ka**
 1SG:NOM money-ABS borrow-CNV₁ take-PF:REL child-F-ABS this-LOC
bá-se
 exist_not-N:DCL
 'The girl from whom I borrowed money is not here'

We have shown above that a head noun functioning as a peripheral argument with Ablative, Locative or Instrumental case in the relative clause is marked with Nominative or Absolutive case if its function in the higher, main clause is that of a core argument. The following example illustrates the reverse situation, that is, a head noun functioning as a core argument in the relative clause being assigned a peripheral case role as determined by its grammatical relation to the verb in the main clause.

- 14a. **ʒííní naʔʔ-éll-ó-idda-ppa ʔarapó ʔekk-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM child-F-ABS-LOC-ABL knife take-PF-A:DCL
 'He took a knife from the girl'
- 14b. **ʒííní [[naʔʔ-éll-ó-idda-ppa ʔekk-é] ʔarapó-na] súz-ó**
 3MS:NOM child-F-ABS-LOC-ABL take-PF:REL knife-with rope-ABS
ʔík'-é-ne
 cut-PF-A:DCL
 'He cut the rope with the knife which he took from the girl'

One head noun may be modified by two relative clauses, as the following sentence illustrates:

15. **[[[ʒiginó ʔatsí núú-m keezz-é] ʔodozz-ó**
 yesterday person:M:NOM 1PL-DAT tell-PF:REL long-ABS
[ʔoy-is-á] miná haiss-á] k'ára-ke
 be sad-CAUS-IPF:REL ancient speech-NOM good-BE:A:DCL
 'The long, saddening story which the man told us yesterday is good'

As mentioned above, the head of a relative clause can be absent. In this case the gender, number, and case markers of the missing head noun are affixed to the relative verb. The order of morphemes in such cases is: **verb root-aspect-gender** or **number-case**. The following are examples.

- 16a. **[miná haiss-ó keezz-á-tsí] na-att-ó-na**
 ancient speech-ABS tell-IPF:REL-M:NOM child-PL-ABS-INST
naʔk-ínt-á-ne
 like-PAS-IPF-A:DCL
 'The one who (M) tells the story is liked by the children'
- 16b. **[miná haiss-ó keezz-é-z-éll-á] na-att-ó-na**
 ancient speech-ABS tell-PF:REL-DF-F-NOM child-PL-ABS-INST
naʔk-ínt-á-ne
 like-PAS-IPF-A:DCL
 'The one who (F) told the story is liked by the children'
- 16c. **[miná haiss-ó núú-m keezz-é-z-óntsí]**
 ancient speech-ABS 1PL-DAT tell-PF:REL-DF-DF:PL:NOM
k'ára-ke
 good-BE:A:DCL
 'Those who told us stories are nice people'

In (16a) above, the vowel of the masculine gender marker **-atsi** is deleted when it is preceded by the Imperfective aspect marker **-á**. The masculine gender marker looks identical to the clausal nominalizer **-tsi** (cf. section 8.2.1 below). As shown in Chapter Two, the definite singular marker **-z-** occurs with a few masculine nouns, as in **kani** 'dog' and **kan-z-i** 'the dog (M)'. In nominalized relative clauses, however, **-z-** is consistently used if this clause refers to feminine or plural nouns, as in (16b) and (16c) respectively. However, it is not used if the nominalized clause refers to a masculine noun, as in (16a). The occurrence of **-z-** in nominalized relative clauses referring to a plural head noun appears to be redundant since it occurs in addition to the definite plural marker **-óntsi**.

8.1.2 *Non-restrictive relative clauses*

The Maale constructions discussed in this section are not really equivalent to the English 'non-restrictive relative clauses'. We use the term 'non-restrictive relative clause' to refer to relative clauses in Maale which tend to refer to expressions which hold true at all times and/or headed by an indefinite noun. In this construction, the dependent verb is suffixed with the Absolutive case marker **-ó** (for related constructions marked by **-á**, see below). Unlike the restrictive relative clause discussed in section 8.1.1, in the non-restrictive relative clause aspect distinctions are not marked on the relative verb. Consider the following examples:

- 17a **ʔíni** **[[waatsi gets-ó] ʔoti]** **táá-m ʔing-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM water:ABSkeep-NRRC pot:ABS me-DAT give-PF-A:DCL
 'He gave me a pot in which water can be kept'

- 17b. **[[pálʔ-ó-idda biiʔ-ó] daaní] c'árʔi**
 bow-ABS-LOC smear-NRRC poison:NOM strong

maʔ-andá-ya **koff-á-ne**
 happen-F:IPF:REL:NMZ need-IPF-A:DCL
 'Poison that is smeared on the bow should be strong'

Notice that the relative clauses in the above examples are headed by indefinite nouns. The **-ó** suffix in non-restrictive relative clauses illustrated above seems to be the same as the Absolutive case marker **-ó**. This, and the absence of aspectual markers, makes non-restrictive relative clauses noun-like. (See also attributive constructions below.) There is, however, a set of data which might suggest an alternative analysis to the **-ó** morpheme in non-restrictive relative clauses. The data in question concerns the following proverbs:

- 18a. **[dicc-i kess-óna] kan-á ʔád-ó dǎʔ-é-ne**
 raise-CNV₁ take out-NRRC dog-NOM father-ABSbite-PF-A:DCL

'The dog which one_i raised up bit the master_j'

'The dog which is raised up by the master bit the master'

- 18b. [[boh-óna] wórtsí] bóli wof-á-ne
despise-NRRC spear:NOM in-law:ABS kill-IPF-A:DCL

'A spear which is despised kills one's in-law'

(An action which demands great courage; the proverb is said to be used to highlight the inappropriateness of disrespect.)

- 18c. [[dambayí-na fank'-óna] wórtsí] dambó ?oti
tobacco plant-INST buy-NRRC spear:NOM tobacco pot:ABS

wof-é-ne

kill-PF-A:DCL

'A spear which is bought by (selling) tobacco plants breaks a pot from which one smokes tobacco'

(Is used to criticize ungratefulness.)

In the proverbs the morpheme *-óna* seems to have the same function as that of *-ó*. The morpheme *-óna* in these examples can be replaced by *-ó*, apparently, without causing a meaning difference. Two questions can be raised from this. Is *-ó* a shortened form of *-óna*? If this is the case, *-óna* can be considered as a morpheme marking non-restrictive relative clauses. Or, alternatively, is *-óna* Absolutive *-ó* plus Instrumental *-na*? Notice that, as shown in Chapter Three, the Instrumental marker *-na* is always preceded by a citation form (i.e., an unmarked Absolutive noun) or by a noun morphologically marked for the Absolutive by *-ó*. Moreover, the way the proverbs are translated allows for Instrumental reading. The only problem with the analysis of *-óna* as an Absolutive plus Instrumental form is that in other relative clauses, case roles are not marked on the relative verb.

The relative clause with *-óna* was never given in elicitation forms. After recognizing this form in proverbs when the researcher asked if the same form can be used in referential relative clauses headed by definite nouns, the response was positive. The following is an example.

19. mú?-óna mú?-á k'ára-ke
eat-NRRC food:NOM good-BE:A:DCL

'The food which we ate is good' / 'The food which is eaten (by us) is good'

Examples such as the above are given without an overt subject noun. However, in the interpretation the subject noun is the first person plural. With other subjects, the sentence is judged ungrammatical. It appears that the above expression involves an unspecified agent and the whole structure is interpreted as a passive form (in the regular passive as well the agent is marked by the Instrumental morpheme *-na*). Since, in the rest of its grammar Maale does not mark Subject agreement on verbs,

the interpretation of relative clauses such as that in (19) as having first person plural subject is conventionally understood rather than being expressed in the grammar. Such cases have also been reported for other languages in studies dealing with *conversational implicature*.

When the head noun of a non-restrictive relative clause is absent, the relative clause is nominalized by affixing *-ya* to the relative verb. In contrast to the restrictive relative clauses, nominalized non-restrictive relative clauses do not show gender or number distinction. However, the Nominative-Absolutive case distinction can be seen by the tone difference on the nominalized relative clause as illustrated below.

- 20a. *ʔeebí púlo gó-ó-ya ʔáá-ne*
 something *púlo*:ABS say-NRRC-NMZ:NOM exist-A:DCL
 (cf. *púlo* 'a small, makeshift hut where women give birth')
 'There is something which is called *púlo*'

- 20b. *ʔiyátá ʔád-ó-m gets-ó-ya múʔ-á-ne*
 3PL:NOM father-ABS-DAT put down-NRRC-NMZ eat-IPF-A:DCL
 'They eat what is kept for father'

The suffix *-ó* is also attested in attributive constructions involving Verb + Noun structures such as the following.

- 21a. *lah-ó salééna* 'a mat for sleeping'
 lie-NRRC mat
 21b. *koll-ó silba* 'a stirring spoon'
 stir-NRRC spoon

One may argue that the above structures are compound constructions. However, as shown in Chapter Three, compound nouns in Maale do not involve more than two components. But attributive constructions may involve more than two elements, as illustrated in (22) below. Furthermore, unlike compounds, attributive constructions are typically semantically transparent and descriptive.

- 22a. *wós'e wos'-ó díste*
 sauce:ABS make_sauce-NRRC pan:ABS
 'a pan for making sauce'
 22b. *ʔapíll-ó sikk-ó narpe*
 cloth-ABS sew-NRRC needle
 'a needle for sewing cloth'
 22c. *ʔeebi ʔufk-ó k'anda*
 something drink-NRRC calabash
 'a calabash for drinking'

Furthermore, since compounds in Maale do not take any connecting element, the role of the -ó in the above examples cannot be explained. Finally, when the attributed head noun is the actor in the event expressed by the relative clause, the suffix -á is used to link the verb and the noun. This occurs mainly, but not exclusively, when the head noun is animate (see examples 25-26). The following are examples:

- 23a. **súúrúnk'-á kapi** 'a whistling bird'
whistle-NRRC bird:ABS
- 23b. **koom-á bó?o** 'a jumping animal'
jump-NRRC wild animal:ABS
- 23c. **?uʃk-á ?asi** 'a drinking man'
drink-NRRC person:ABS
- 23d. **korg-á laali** 'a dancing woman'
dance-NRRC woman:ABS
- 23e. **yeekk-á nayi** 'a crying child'
cry-NRRC child:ABS

In contrast to examples (21-22), the head nouns in (23) above, function as the agent of an action described by the verb. Switching the -á and -ó morphemes in the attributive constructions illustrated in (21-23) above, yields different judgements among informants. Some were rejected completely e.g. **?uʃk-ó ?asi* (cf. *?uʃk-á ?asi* 'a drinking man'). In some, speakers pointed out that this renders the sentences anomalous:

- 24a. **??eebi ?uʃk-á k'anda**
something drink-NRRC calabash:ABS
'a calabash which drinks something'
- 24b. **?lah-á salééna**
lie down-NRRC mat:ABS
'a mat which sleeps'

Some, however, can take either of the morphemes, but with slight difference in meaning as can be seen from the following examples:

- 25a. **?aʃki tik'-á ?apara**
meat:ABS cut-NRRC knife:ABS
'a knife which cuts meat (well)'
- 25b. **?aʃki tik'-ó ?apara**
meat cut-NRRC knife:ABS
'a knife for cutting meat/with which one cuts meat'

The difference between (25a) and (25b) is that in the latter, the head noun *ʔapara* 'knife' is merely an instrument one uses for cutting whereas in (25a) it is its ability to carry out the action of cutting which is important. The knife in this latter case is more of a 'doer' than an 'Instrument'. However, the term "effector" (as defined in Van Valin and Wilkins 1996), instead of agent, can describe attributives with -á better. Consider also the following examples, which can only take -á, but the head noun of which cannot be treated as an 'agent'.

26. *súgútt-á kítsi*
 bleed-NRRC wound:ABS
 'a bleeding wound' (cf. **sugutt-ó kítsi* 'a bleeding wound')

In (26) *kítsi* possesses the state-event described by the verb *súgútt-* 'bleed' as one of its qualities. In this sense it is comparable to attributive constructions with agent/effector nouns such as the following which can only take the suffix -á:

- 27a. *lúúk'k'-á ʔasi*
 lie-IPF:REL person:ABS
 'a lying person' (also: *luuzzi* 'liar')
- 27b. *wúúk'k'-á ʔasi*
 steal- IPF:REL person:ABS
 'a stealing person' (cf. *wússi* 'thief')

Notice that the morphemes -á and -ó in examples (21-27), which we identified as marking non-restrictive relative clauses are formally identical to the -á and -ó suffixes marking respectively the Nominative and Absolutive cases. The morpheme -ó in the non-restrictive relative clauses in (20-22) can be analysed as a distinct morpheme from the Absolutive marker or it may be regarded as the same morpheme. In the latter case, the claim will be that case markers are freely attached to verb roots, which is not supported in many theories of linguistics. Similarly, the interpretation of the morpheme -á in attributive constructions shown in (23-27) above is equally problematic. This morpheme can be given two, equally acceptable interpretations. Firstly, -á in attributive constructions can be analysed as an exponent of the Nominative case. This gets support from the fact that in attributive constructions with -á the head noun functions as agent or effector (thus, non-patient) noun whereas the head noun of an attributive construction with -ó has the role of a patient, receiver or instrument.

The second possible interpretation of attributives with -á is to analyse this morpheme as an exponent of the Imperfective aspect marker -á. This seems to be plausible when the forms in examples (23-27) are compared to restrictive relative clauses (see section 8.1.1. above). The latter type of relative clauses include relative clauses in the Imperfective aspect which take the Imperfective aspect marker -á. In as far as they involve a Verb + Noun construction in which the role of the verb is that of

modifying or attributing the noun, attributive constructions are similar to other relative clauses. Thus in Maale, **wúúk'k'-á ?asi** can express 'a stealing person' (a person with the attribute of stealing)' or 'a person who is engaged in the act of stealing at the moment of the utterance, or habitually'. The possibility of using the Imperfective aspect marker to express habitual actions, and by extension, to the expression of a relatively permanent attribute, supports the analysis of the morpheme **-á** in (23-27) as the same as the Imperfective aspect marker.

Concluding this section, illustrative sentences of attributive constructions are given in (28) below:

- 28a. **núúni waas'-ó ?úfk-ó ?ánda kó?-á-ne**
 1SG:NOM water-Abs drink-NRRC calabash search-IPF-A:DCL
 'We are looking for a calabash for drinking water'
- 28b. **hayi ?úfk-ó waatsi d-á**
 this:NOM drink-NRRC water:ABS BE-IPF:Q
 'Is this drinking water?'
- 28c. **láh-ó wúdd-á wo-ka d-á-y**
 lie down-NRRC hut-NOM where-LOC BE-IPF-Q
 'Where is the hut for sleeping?'
- 28d. **?ainad'-á na??-atsi hell-é-ne**
 sing-IPF:REL child-M:NOM arrive-PF-A:DCL
 'The singing boy arrived'

8.2 Complement clauses

Complementizing verbs in Maale include, among others, the following verbs: **?is's'** 'refuse', **danda?** 'manage, be able', **?ark'** 'start, hold', **maadd** 'help', **wall-** 'forget', **gumurk'** 'believe', **haff-** 'give up', **?er-** 'know', **gapis-** 'finish', **tukk-** 'decide', **giig-** 'agree' and **wall-** 'forget'. Complement clauses of these verbs may be infinitival clauses, nominalized clauses, or clauses marked with **-aní** or **gudi** 'like/as'. Elsewhere, **-aní** and **gudi** are used respectively to mark purposive/intentional and reason/causal clauses. The use of these two morphemes in complement clauses shows that the distinction between 'complement clauses' and 'adverbial clauses' is not always observed. The verb in infinitival clauses and nominalized complement clauses is marked by the same morpheme. However, these two clauses differ syntactically, as the following sections show.

8.2.1 *Nominalized complement clauses*

The clausal nominalizer/complementizer in Maale is: **-tsí**. It occurs immediately after the aspect and/or modality markers. Compare the nominalized clause in (29b) with the main clause in (29a).

- 29a. **naʔʔ-éll-á timirto máári dákk-ínt-é-ne**
 child-F-NOM school house:ABS send-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'The girl is sent to school'
- 29b. **tááni [naʔʔ-éll-á timirto máári dákk-ínt-é-tsi]**
 1SG:NOM child-F-NOM school house:ABS send-PAS-PF-NMZ
waizz-é-ne
 hear-PF-A:DCL
 'I heard that the girl is sent to school'

The following are examples of nominalized clauses in the Imperfective aspect.

- 30a. **nu ʔáʃinn-á jink-ó ʔáád-á-ne**
 1PL:GEN neighbour-NOM Jinka-ABS go-IPF-A:DCL
 'Our neighbours go/are going to Jinka'
- 30b. **nu ʔáʃinn-á jink-ó ʔáád-á-tsí goné-ke**
 1PL:GEN neighbour-NOM Jinka-ABS go-IPF-NMZ true-BE:A:DCL
 'It is true that our neighbours go/are going to Jinka'

An example of a nominalized clause with the future Imperfective:

- 31a. **ta míʃá zíró muk-ándá-ne**
 1SG:GEN sister-NOM tomorrow come-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'My sister will come tomorrow'
- 31b. **[ta míʃá zíró muk-ándá-tsi] tá**
 1SG:GEN sister-NOM tomorrow come-F:IPF-NMZ 1SG:NOM
ʔer-á-ne
 know-IPF-A:DCL
 'I know that my sister will come tomorrow'

Existential sentences can also be nominalized, showing that **-tsi** is a phrasal affix attached to any final constituent:

- 32a. **zíró timirte bá-se**
 tomorrow lesson exist_not-N:DCL
 'There will be no lesson tomorrow'

- 32b. *Yíni tamaar-ó-m zíró timirte bá-tsi*
 3MS:NOM student-ABS-DAT tomorrow lesson exist_not-NMZ

keezz-é-ne

tell-PF-A:DCL

'He told the students that there will be no lesson tomorrow'

The following is an example of nominalized predicative construction. We have shown earlier that when used in dependent clauses, predicative constructions need the predicative verb *t-*. Simple declarative predicative sentences, however, do not take a predicative verb.

33. *gaalli múcci t-á-tsi tá ?er-á-ne*
 Amhara languageBE-IPF-NMZ 1SG:NOM know-IPF-A:DCL

'I know that it is Amharic (that you are speaking)' (cf. *gaalli múcci-ke* 'It is Amharic')

In the section on relative clauses, we showed that nominalized relative clauses are formed by suffixing *-tsi* to the verb in the relative clause if the gender of the omitted head noun is masculine, e.g., *mukk-é-tsi* 'the one (m) who came'. In simple nouns, masculine gender is marked with a similar morpheme, i.e., *-atsi* as in, *na??-atsi* 'the child (m)' from *na?i* 'child'. This raises the following question. Is the nominalizer *-tsi* in examples (29-33) above and that in relative clauses such as *mukk-é-tsi* 'the one (m) who came', related to the masculine gender marker? Our hunch would be to answer this question positively. However, this aspect needs further historical-comparative research. The nominalizer *-tsi* is also formally similar to the morpheme *-itsi* which is used to derive infinitival verbs from verb roots. This will be discussed in the following section.

Before going into the discussion of infinitival clauses, we will briefly comment on the structure of complement clauses with the verb *mal-* 'think, seem, look alike'. This verb demands the nominalizer *-ya*, not *-tsi*, in the complement clause whether the subject of the main clause is masculine or feminine (*-ya* is also used in nominalized non-restrictive relative clauses as shown in section 8.1.2). Consider the following example:

- 34a. *Yizá booka ?áád-á-ya mal-á-ne*
 3FS:NOM market:ABS go-IPF-NMZ seem-IPF-A:DCL

'She seems to be going to the market'

'It seems that she goes/is going to the market'

- 34b. *Yizi booka ?áád-á-ya mal-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM market:ABS go-IPF-NMZ seem-IPF-A:DCL

'He seems to be going to the market'

'It seems that he goes/is going to the market'

34c. **ʔizá booka ʔááɗ-á-tsi mal-á-ne* 'She seems to be going to the market'

34d. **ʔizi booka ʔááɗ-á-tsi mal-á-ne* 'He seems to be going to the market'

There is no person agreement on the verb. Because of this it is not possible to determine whether the subject in 'seem clauses' belongs to the dependent clause or to the main clause. For example, the pronoun *ʔizá* in (35) below may be the subject of the verb *mal-* 'seem' in the main clause, or that of *ʔááɗ-* 'go' in the dependent clause.

35. *ʔizá booka ʔááɗ-andá-ya mal-á-ne*
 3FS:NOM market:ABS go-F:IPF-NMZ seem-IPF-A:DCL
 'She seems to be one the who will go to the market' / 'It seems that she will go to the market'

In other Ethiopian languages such as Amharic (cf. Baye 1994) and Wolaitta which show subject agreement on the verb, the form of the verb differs when a noun in this context functions as subject of the dependent clause, or when it serves the same function in the main clause. This distinction cannot be made in Maale.

Another characteristic of complement clauses of the verb *mal-* 'seem, think, resemble' is that they always occur in the Absolutive case. We have shown in the section on relative clauses that relative clauses with the nominalizer *-ya* may be marked for Nominative case by way of high tone on *-ya* if the clause is used as a subject complement clause. That the complement clause of the verb *mal-* 'seem, think, resemble' in Maale can take only the Absolutive suggests that this verb is a transitive verb. For example, when this verb is used to express 'resemble, look alike', it takes two arguments, one realized with the Nominative case and the second argument with the Absolutive case:

36. *ʔiini pe ʔind-ó mal-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3LOG mother-ABS resemble-IPF-A:DCL
 'He resembles his mother'

When this verb is used to express 'think', it takes a quotative complement clause (for more examples on the quotative, see below):

37a. *tááni ʔizá booka ʔááɗ-andá-ne geʔ-i*
 1SG:NOM 3FS:NOM market:ABS go-F:IPF-NMZ say-CNV₁
mal-á-ne
 think-IPF-A:DCL
 'I think she will go to the market'

37b. *ʔiini néení muk-ándá-ne geʔ-i mal-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM 2SG:NOM come-F:IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ think-IPF-A:DCL
 'He thinks that you are going to come'

8.2.2 *Infinitival complement clauses*

The infinitive in Maale is formed by affixing **-itsi** to a verbal root. The first vowel of **-itsi** exhibits optional tone polarity. If it is affixed to a verb root that has a high tone on a preceding vowel, **-itsi** is realized with low tone, if it is affixed to a verb root with low tone on all of its vowels, the first vowel of **-itsi** may be realized with high or low tone, as can be seen from the list of infinitival verbs in (38a) and (38b) below.

- 38a. **zag-itsi** or **zag-ítsi** 'to see'
waizz-itsi or **waizz-ítsi** 'to hear'
naʃk-itsi or **naʃk-ítsi** 'to like'
laʔ-itsi or **laʔ-ítsi** 'to lick'
- 38b. **ʔárk'-itsi** 'to hold, to start'
ɗímʔ-itsi 'to squeeze'
ʔééll-itsi 'to call'
múʔ-itsi 'to eat'

This high tone insertion rule is described in detail in Chapter Two.

The following examples illustrate the use of the infinitive as an object complement clause.

- 39a. **ʔíní** **kawo** **múʔ-itsi** **ʔis's'-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM dinner:ABS eat-INF refuse-PF-A:DCL
 'He refused to eat dinner'
- 39b. **ʔiyátá** **goʒ-ó** **gídda** **maɗ-itsi** **haʃf-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM farm-ABS inside:LOC work-INF give up-PF-A:DCL
 'They stopped working on the farm'

In the examples above, the infinitival clause is marked for case by tone, i.e., low tone on the final vowel for the Absolutive. However, the infinitival clause can be marked with the Absolutive case suffix **-ó** as illustrated in (40) below. In this case, it is interpreted as a definite nominal. Notice that in the following example the **ts** of the infinitival marker is changed to **s'** before the case marker. This glottalization rule is described in detail in Chapter Two.

- 40a. **táání** **ɗaww-is'-ó** **haʃf-induwá-se**
 1SG:NOM show-INF-ABS give up-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'I will not give up showing (it)' (lit. I'll not give up the showing)
- 40b. **taa-kó** **lagg-atsí** **máár-ó** **maʒʒ-is'-ó**
 1SG:GEN-GEN friend-M:NOM house-ABS build-INF-ABS

maadd-é-ne

help-PF-A:DCL

'My friend helped building the house'

Infinitival subject complements are marked for Nominative case in a similar manner: in indefinite forms Nominative case is marked by high tone on the final vowel of the infinitival clause whereas on definite infinitival clauses it is marked by -á. The following two examples illustrate the two ways of marking Nominative case on infinitival nominals.

- 41a. **ʔála ʔúʔk-itsi nayí-m k'ára t-uwá-se**
 beer:ABS drink-INF:NOM child:ABS-DAT good BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Drinking beer is not good for a child'

- 41b. **ʔizó-ko timirto máári ʔáád-is' -á**
 3FS:ABS-GEN school house:ABS go-INF-NOM

koʔ-is-á-ya-ke

want-CAUS-IPF-NMZ-BE:A:DCL

'Her going to school is necessary' (lit. Her going to school is one which is needed)

The case marking on infinitives described above, shows that in terms of case marking, infinitives are treated in exactly the same manner as prototypical nouns. The infinitival complement clause can take peripheral cases as well, as the following example with the Instrumental case illustrates.

42. **nee-kó k'amitsi ʔáád-is' -ó-na tá**
 2SG:GEN-GEN short go-INF-ABS-INST 1SG:NOM

giig-uwá-se

agree-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'I do not agree that you go so soon' / 'I do not agree with your going so soon'

It is important to notice that whether the infinitival clause is used as subject or object of the main clause, the subject of the infinitival clause itself is the same as that of the main clause. As will be shown later, this feature will prove crucial in determining whether a certain dependent clause may or may not allow switch-reference.

The infinitive marker *-itsi* is formally similar to the nominalizer *-tsi* discussed in section 8.2.1 above. These two also have a partly similar function of changing, respectively, a verb root and a verbal construction into an argument. The difference between these two relates to the presence and absence of aspect markers: while the infinitive involves only verb roots, the nominalized clause exclusively involves finite clauses which are marked for aspect. That is, the latter occurs with *-é-* which marks

the Perfective aspect, or with the Present Imperfective **-á-** or with the Future Imperfective **-andá-**. Thus, we claim that there is basically one affix **-tsi** which forms the infinitival when attached to a verb root and a complement clause when affixed to an inflected verbal stem. Since verb roots in Maale generally end in one or more consonants, the **-i** in the infinitival suffix **-itsi** must be epenthetic.

8.2.3 *Complement clauses or adverbial clauses?*

There are two other forms, **-aní** and **gudi**, which are used to form clauses which are either complements or adverbial modifiers. Noonan (1985: 42) states "[b]y complementation we mean the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate." Thus, the labelling of clauses with any of these two morphemes as a 'complement clause' or an 'adverbial clause' stems from the function of the clause in the complex sentence. If it is used as an obligatory argument, it is analysed as a complement clause; if it is an optional modifier of the verb in the main clause, we refer to it as an adverbial clause.

The suffix **-aní** functions as a complementizer and as a purposive/intentional clause marker. A clause affixed with **-aní** can, in some contexts, be used alternatively with the infinitival marker, as illustrated below.

- 43a. **táání nabbab-aní kóʔ-á-ne** 'I want to read'
1SG:NOM read-INF want-IPF-A:DCL

- 43b. **táání nabbab-itsi kóʔ-á-ne** 'I want to read'
1SG:NOM read-INF want-IPF-A:DCL

Consider example (44a) below, in which in the first occurrence **-aní** is interpreted as purposive, whereas in its second occurrence no such purposive reading is possible. In the latter case, **-aní** can be replaced by the infinitival morpheme **-itsi**, as (44b-c) demonstrate.

- 44a. **ʔugg-aní múʔ-aní koʔ-is-á-ne**
grow-PURP eat-PURP want-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
'In order to grow, eating is necessary'

- 44b. **ʔugg-aní múʔ-itsi koʔ-is-á-ne**
grow-PURP eat-INF want-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
'In order to grow, eating is necessary'

- 44c. **kats-aní tami ʔééts-itsi koʔ-is-á-ne**
cook-PURP fire:ABS burn-INF want-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
'In order to cook, making fire is necessary'

However, unlike the above examples, in (45) below the verb in the dependent clause cannot take the infinitival marker **-itsi**, as the sentences with (*) demonstrate. This

shows that, even though these two morphemes at times have similar distribution, they are not exact equivalents semantically.

- 45a. *ʔííní timirto máári ʔááď-aní túkk-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM school house:ABS go-INF tie-PF-A:DCL
 'He decided to go to school'

* *ʔííní timirto máári ʔááď-itsi túkk-é-ne*

- 45b. *ʔííní zíró máár-ó koff-aní giig-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM tomorrow house-ABS repair-INF agree-PF-A:DCL
 'He agreed to repair the house tomorrow'

* *ʔííní zíró máár-ó koff-itsi giig-é-ne*

- 45c. *ʔízá gutté-na mukk-aní dandaʔ-á-ne*
 3FS:NOM early-INST come-INF be able-IPF-A:DCL
 'She is able to come early'

* *ʔízá gutté-na mukk-itsi dandaʔ-á-ne*

Notice that there is no obvious purposive reading in the above examples, but intention and a higher degree of control on the part of the subject is in fact involved. A look at the other complementizing verbs which take -aní as a complementizer strengthens this point. These are: *koʔ-* 'want', *tukk-* 'decide, tie', *gonas-* 'promise', *giig-* 'prepare, agree', and *ʔeʔe-* 'agree'.

Clauses taking the complementizer *gudi* 'like/as' seem to overlap in meaning with the infinitival clause. In other contexts, clauses with *gudi* function as 'Purposive Clause' (see, section 8.3.5 below).

- 46a. *táání mááď-ó haff-andá gudi ʔízá-m keezz-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM work-ABS give up-F:IPF COMP 3MS:ABS-DAT tell-PF-A:DCL
 'I told him to stop the work'

- 46a. *ʔiyátá ʔízá wolla ʔááď-andá gudi wolk'-áď-é-ne*
 3PL:NOM 3MS:ABS together go-F:IPF COMP power-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'They forced him to go with them'

- 46c. *ʔatsí máccó ʔooc'-ó-m saamm-ó ʔing-andá gudi*
 person:M:NOM wife:ABS guest-ABS-DAT food-ABS give-F:IPF COMP
ʔaits-é-ne
 order-PF-A:DCL

'The man ordered his wife to give the food to the guests'

Verbs taking *gudi* as complementizer include: *koʔ-* 'want', *ʔeʔe-* 'agree', *keezz-* 'tell', *zor-* 'advise', *ʔooc'e-* 'ask', *wolk'áď-* 'force' and *ʔaits-* 'order'.

As examples (39) through (46) demonstrate, clauses with **-itsi**, **-aní** and **gudi** are similar in so far as the clauses containing these markers are used as arguments of the verb in the main clause. However, each of these exhibits different morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics. On the one hand **-itsi** and **-aní** differ from **gudi** in that they are bound morphemes attached directly to the verb without an intervening tense-aspect marker, while **gudi** always requires a verb marked for aspect, namely the future imperfective aspect. On the other hand, complex clauses with **-aní** and **gudi** differ from **-itsi** in that a clause with **-itsi** can be affixed with case markers while this is not possible with **-aní** and **gudi**. The forms **-aní** and **gudi** differ from each other in their morphological status: i.e., they are, respectively, bound and free forms. However, next to their role as complementizers with verbs that require clausal arguments, **-aní** and **gudi** are also used to mark optional, adverbial clauses: both are used to mark purposive clauses. This latter function of **-aní** and **gudi** will be discussed in the section on adverbial clauses below. **gudi** is also used for comparison, as demonstrated below:

- 47a. **ĩzi nayi gudi ɓaʃk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM child:ABS like run-IPF-A:DCL
 'He runs like a child'
- 47b. **ĩníní suugg-atsi gudi ʔodossi t-uwá-se**
 3MS:NOM chief-M:NOM like tall BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He is not as tall as the chief'
- 47c. **naʔʔ-éll-ó-na goodáína-na háya gudi gar-aa déʔ-á-ne**
 child-F-ABS-INST friend-INST this:ABS like inside-LOC sit-IPF-A:DCL
 'The girl and (her) friend sit inside; like this (in this manner)'

8.3 Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause bears a range of semantic relations to its main clause. On the basis of such semantic relations expressed, and/or morphological distinctions, six adverbial clause types are identified in Maale. These are: Conditional, Concessive, Temporal, Purposive, Preventive and Reason clauses. Aspect marking plays a role in the distinction of these adverbial clause types. That is, some of these adverbial clauses are affixed with an identical dependent clause marker but they express different meanings because they select different aspect markers. For example, the Preventive and one of the Temporal clauses, namely the Simultaneous, are marked by the morpheme **-nte**, however, in the former the verb is realized with the Perfective aspect whereas in the latter the verb always occurs in the Imperfective aspect. Below, each of the adverbial clause types is discussed separately.

8.3.1 *Conditional clauses*

Two types of conditional clauses operate in Maale: *reality* conditional clauses and *hypothetical* conditional clauses. In *reality* conditional clauses the fulfillment of the situation expressed by the conditional clause is prerequisite for the fulfillment of the state of affair expressed by the main clause. This type of conditional clause is marked in Maale by affixing *-to* to the verb which is *mainly* realized with the perfective aspect (cf. Haspelmath and König 1998, who refer to the use of Perfective aspect in a non-Perfective expression as conversational implicature or *conditional perfection*). In realis conditionals the verb in the independent clause is realized either in the future Imperfective or in the present Imperfective.

- 48a. **haya júmm-ó mú?-é-to tá wói-t-andá-y**
 this:ABS mushroom-ABS eat-PF-CND 1SG:NOM Q-BE-F:IPF-Q
 'What will happen to me, if I eat this mushroom'
- 48b. **goys'-ó né táná d'aww-é-to tá néé-m**
 road-ABS 2SG:NOM 1SG:ABS show-PF-CND 1SG:NOM 2SG-DAT
miiffé ?ing-andá-ne
 money:ABS give-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If you show me the road, I will give you money'

The following are examples of the conditional verb occurring with an Imperfective aspect.

- 49a. **piwwe ?amman-andá-to ?ámmán-i háff-andá-to háff-i**
 IDEO believe-F:IPF-CND believe-VER give up-F:IPF-CND giveup-VER
 'Believe (in your religion) properly or give it up altogether'
 (lit. If you will believe properly, believe! If you will give it up, give it up!')
- 49b. **?anní-na na??-éll-ó-na wolla ?ur-áf-i**
 husband-INST child-F-ABS-INST together fight-VBZ-CNV₁
púrt-á-to
 be_bad-IPF-CND
 'If the husband and the daughter become bad by fighting with each other, ...'

In contrast to this, the hypothetical conditional which expresses an imagined situation, is expressed by a relative clause.

- 50b. **goys'-ó né táná d'aww-é-ya d-á-to**
 road-ABS 2SG:NOM 1SG:ABS show-PF-NMZ BE-IPF-CND
tá néé-m miiffé ?ing-andá-ne
 1SG:NOM 2SG-DAT money give-F:IPF-A:DCL

'If you showed me the road, I would have given you money'
(lit. If you were one who showed me the road, I would give you money)

We have shown in Chapter Five that there are three 'predicative verb' roots in Maale: **n-**, **t-**, and **d-**, which have different distributions. In conditional clauses, the verb roots **t-** and **d-** might be used. The former is used in realis conditionals as in (51a) below, whereas **d-** is used in hypothetical conditionals. This choice seems to indicate the aspectual distinction between the two types of conditional clauses (see also Chapter Five for aspect marking in predicative sentences). Consider the following examples:

- 51a. **néení** **?órgocci t-á-to** **waari** **núú-m**
2SG:NOM rich BE-IPF-CND goat:ABS 1SG-DAT

fukk-andá-ne
slaughter-F:IPF-A:DCL

'If you are rich, you will slaughter a goat for us'

- 51b. **néení** **?órgocci d-á-to** **waari** **núú-m**
2SG:NOM rich BE-IPF-CND goat:ABS 1SG-DAT

fukk-andá-nte
slaughter-F:IPF-PRVN

'If you were rich, you would have slaughtered a goat for us (but that did not happen)'

The conditional clause mainly occurs before the main clause but speakers do reverse this order. Thus there is no difference in the dependency relation between (52a) and (52b) below. It seems that the variation in the order does not alter the basic meaning either.

- 52a. **?ízá** **mukk-é-to** **táání** **booka** **?áádf-andá-ne**
3FS:NOM come-PF-CND 1SG:NOM market:ABS go-F:IPF-A:DCL
'If she comes, I will go to the market'

- 52b. **táání** **booka** **?áádf-andá-ne** **?ízá** **mukk-é-to**
1SG:NOM market:ABS go-F:IPF-A:DCL 3FS:NOM come-PF-CND
'I will go to the market, if she comes'

8.3.2 *Concessive conditional clauses*

The concessive clause in Maale is formed by adding the Inclusive marker **-a** to a conditional verb (see Chapter Three, Section 3.5.2.1. for discussion on the Inclusive). We use the term 'concessive conditional' to refer to this structure because of the presence of the conditional marker (cf. Haspelmath and König (1998), Crevels (2000) for semantic explanations for the overlap between concessives and

conditionals). The glide *w* is inserted between the vowel of the conditional marker *-to* and the inclusive marker *-a*. As discussed in the chapter on phonology, the vowel *o* is raised to *u* when it is immediately followed by *w*. The following are examples.

- 53a. *ʔizá mízáββi maʔ-ibá-tu-wa k'amítsi*
 3FS-NOM beautiful happen-PF:NEG-CND-INCL₁ short
lóʔ-andá-ne
 marry-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'Although she is not beautiful, she will marry soon'
- 53b. *ʔizá ʔorgocci maʔ-ibá-tu-wa miifje*
 3FS:NOM rich happen-PF:NEG-CND-INCL₁ money:ABS
ʔas-ó-m ʔing-á-ne
 person-ABS-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL
 'Although she is not rich, she gives money to people'
- 53c. *ʔizá ʔorgocci maʔ-é-tu-wa miifje*
 3FS:NOM rich happen-PF-CND-INCL₁ money:ABS
ʔing-uwá-se
 give-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Although she is rich, she does not give money away'

8.3.3 Temporal clauses

Two types of temporal clauses are discussed: sequential and simultaneous clauses. Sequential clauses are marked by *-áána* and *-áza*, which differ semantically only in that *-áána* emphasizes that the event expressed in the main clause *immediately* follows that expressed by the dependent clause. Compare the following examples.

- 54a. *naʔ-éll-á táná harg-á-ne gaʔ-áza*
 child-F-NOM 1SG:ABS pain-IPF-A:DCL say-IPF-TEMP₁
mááró ʔas-á hakúme ʔééll-é-ne
 house person:PL-NOM doctor:ABS call-PF-A:DCL
 'When the girl said "I'm sick", her family called a doctor'
- 54b. *naʔ-éll-á táná harg-á-ne gaʔ-áána*
 child-F-NOM 1SG:ABS pain-IPF-A:DCL say-IPF-TEMP₂
mááró ʔas-á hakúme ʔééll-é-ne
 house person:PL-NOM doctor call-PF-A:DCL
 'When the girl said "I'm sick", her family immediately called a doctor'

Simultaneity is expressed in two ways. If the subject in the main and the dependent clause are co-referential, this is marked by way of a reduplicated converb with final -i. The converb form with -áʔʔó cannot be used for this purpose. (For converbs, see section 8.5.)

55. **laall-éll-á wóntsi wod-í wod-í ʔayn-áɗ-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM mill kill-CNV₁ kill-CNV₁ sing-VB-IPF-A:DCL
 'The woman sings while grinding'

In (55) above, the converb is fully reduplicated in order to express simultaneity. If only one converb is used, the state of affairs expressed in the main clause is consecutive to that expressed by the converb. Consider the following example:

56. **laall-éll-á wóntsi wod-í ʔayn-áɗ-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM mill:ABS kill-CNV₁ sing-VB-IPF-A:DCL
 'Having ground, the woman sings'

If the subject in the matrix and in the dependent clause are different, the morpheme -nte is affixed to express simultaneity. The subject of the main clause may or may not be expressed, as the difference between the following two examples demonstrate.

- 57a. **laal-éll-á wóntsi wod-á-nte ʔayn-áɗ-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM mill:ABS kill-IPF-TEMP₃ sing-VB-IPF-A:DCL
 '(Somebody) sings, while the woman grinds'

- 57b. **laal-éll-á wóntsi wod-á-nte núúni ʔayn-áɗ-á-ne**
 woman-F-NOM mill:ABS kill-IPF-TEMP₃ 1PL:NOM sing-VB-IPF-A:DCL
 'While the woman grinds, we sing'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of Temporal affixes with a verb marked for negative polarity.

58. **hans'ill-ó tá denk'-uwá-nte gaazz-í**
 firewood-ABS 1SG:NOM find-IPF:NEG-TEMP₃ take_much-CNV₁
gap-is-é-ne
 finish-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'They finished the firewood without my knowing it'

There are two other periphrastic ways of expressing sequentiality. Firstly, a nominalized clause may be used as a temporal modifier when it is followed by the spatial terms **bérta** 'in front' or **gins'á-ppa** 'from behind' with which it forms a possessive construction, as illustrated in (59a-b).

- 59a. **ʔíni ʔééd'-andá-tsi-ko bérta mirge lánk'-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM swallow-F:IPF-NMZ-GEN in_front a_lot chew-IPF-A:DCL
 'He chews long before swallowing'

- 59b. *ʔííní mirge lánk' -é-tsi-ko gins'á-ppa ʔééd-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM a_{lot} chew-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-ABL swallow-IPF-A:DCL
 'He swallows after chewing a lot'

In the second type, a converb marked by *-í* is immediately followed by the word *bék'k'a*. (No lexical meaning of the word *bék'k'a* is known). In this case the event expressed in the dependent clause is interrupted by the starting of the event expressed in the main clause. More importantly, dependent clauses with *bék'k'a* express that the subject of the dependent clause her/himself willingly stops/interrupts the action described in the dependent clause. Compare (59c and d) with (59e and f).

- 59c. *ʔízi naʔʔ-ó ʃark'-í bék'k'a haʃʃ-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM child-ABS hit-CNV₁ TEMP₄ give_{up}-PF-A:DCL
 'He stopped/interrupted hitting the child'
 (lit. 'While hitting the child he gave up')
- 59d. *táání ʔáád'-í bék'k'a maʔ-é-ne*
 1SG:NOM go-CNV₁ TEMP₄ return-PF-A:DCL
 'I interrupted going away (and returned)'
 (lit. 'While going, I returned')
- 59e. *ʔízi naʔʔ-ó ʃark'-á-nte ʔízá*
 3MS:NOM child-ABS hit-IPF-TEMP₃ 3FS:NOM
haʃʃ-is-é-ne
 give_{up}-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'While he was hitting the child she made him stop/give up'
- 59f. *táání ʔáád'-á-nte ʔízá táná mah-é-ne*
 1SG:NOM go-IPF-TEMP₃ 3FS:NOM 1SG:ABS return:CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'While I was going, she made me return'

8.3.4 Purposive clauses

Like the simultaneous form, the purposive clause marker shows whether or not the subject of the main and the dependent clause is the same. If the subject of the main clause is different from the subject of the dependent clause, the purposive is expressed with *-óm*.

- 60a. *ʔízá [naʔʔ-éll-á túkó burk'-íʃ-óm] tami*
 3FS:NOM child-F-NOM coffee:ABS boil-CAUS-PURP fire:ABS
ʔééts-á-ne
 burn-IPF-A:DCL
 'She makes fire so that the girl will make coffee'

- 60b. *Yíni* [*Yízá* *ʔamʔó* *ʃanc-óm*] *bookk-ó* *dákk-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM 3FS:NOM coffee sell-PURP market-ABS send-PF-A:DCL
 'He sent her to the market to sell coffee'
- 60c. [*ba-at- á* *késk-óm*] *karr-ó* *búll-é-ne*
 cattle-PL-NOM go out-PURP door-ABS open-PF-A:DCL
 '(Somebody) opened the door so that the cattle go out'
- 60d. *Yíni* [*wáár-á* *hénk'-óm*] *k'óór-a* *mah-í*
 3NS:NOM goat-PL:NOM graze-PURP grazing area-LOC direct-CNV₁
haǰǰ-é-ne
 give_up-PF-A:DCL
 'He directed the goats to the grazing area so that they eat'

When the subject of the main clause is the same as that of the dependent clause, the purposive is expressed with *-aní*. As shown in section 8.2.3, *-aní* is also used in infinitival complement clauses.

- 61a. *Yízá* *túkó* *burk'-if-aní* *tami* *ʔééts-á-ne*
 3FS:NOM coffee:ABS boil-CAUS-PURP fire:ABS burn-IPF-A:DCL
 'She makes fire to make coffee'
- 61b. *laal-éll-á* *wóntsi wod'-aní* *bez-ó* *koff-á-ne*
 woman-F-NOM mill kill-PURP place-ABS make good-IPF-A:DCL
 'The woman prepares the place to grind grain'
- 61c. *Yiyátá* *néná* *zag-aní kap-á-ne*
 3PL:NOM 2SG:ABS see-INF wait-IPF-A:DCL
 'They are waiting in order to see you'

While sentences like those in (60) above might optionally have two subjects corresponding to the two clauses, in (61) only one subject for both the main and dependent clause can be used.

In (60) *-óm* which marks different-subject purposive clauses is presented as though it is a single unit. However, it is possible that this form consists of two morphemes, namely the absolutive marker *-ó* followed by the Dative marker *-m*. There are both semantic and morphological grounds for this analysis. Semantically, the use of the Dative benefactive marker for purpose marking is attested in many languages, e.g. in Amharic the Dative marker *lä* 'for' may be used, as in:

62. *issu* *däbdabbe lä-mäs'af* *iskripto gäzza*
 3MS:NOM letter 'for'-write pen buy:3MS
 'He bought a pen in order to write a letter'

Morphologically, in Maale the Dative is always preceded by the Absolutive form, i.e., in indefinite nouns with the unmarked absolutive form and in definite nouns with the Absolutive marked with the morpheme -ó. Furthermore, there are a few examples, which could be regarded as complex predicates, where the suffix -ó is directly affixed to verbs which are then combined with a main verb. These include the sentences in (63) which are recorded from spontaneous speech. Comparable forms are not encountered in elicited sentences; neither are equivalent structures to those in (63) below are widely used in texts.

- 63a. **lastík-á búll-int-ó ʔis's'-á-ne**
 plastic-NOM open-PAS-ABS refuse-IPF-A:DCL
 'The plastic container would not open'
 (lit. The plastic refused opening)
- 63b. **naʔʔ-á narp-ó ʔis's'-ó ʔis's'-á-ne**
 child-NOM needle-ABS refuse-ABS refuse-IPF-A:DCL
 'The child refused to take the injection'

And as a response to the question 'What will you do, now that you have lost the cow you are supposed to watch over?' a child responded:

64. **kóʔʔ-ó kóʔʔ-andá-ne**
 search-ABS search-F:IPF-A:DCL
 '(I) will search searching (for the cow)'

Examples (63-64) suggest that -óm in purposive clauses consists of two morphemes. The word **gudi** 'like/as' is also used to relate two clauses in 'purpose' relation:

65. **ʔííní naʔʔ-á ʔamʔ-ó ʃanc-andá gudi bookk-ó**
 3MS:NOM child-NOM coffee-ABS sell-FUT:IPF COMP market-ABS
dákk-é-ne
 send-PF-A:DCL
 'He sent the girl to the market in order to sell coffee'

Morphologically, **gudi** is always used in connection with verbs with the future/intentional form while -aní and -óm are affixed to verbs not inflected for aspect. This shows that the purposive clauses with -aní and -óm are more noun-like.

The purposive/infinitival verb followed by the verb **geʔ-** 'say' expresses ingressive, inceptive temporal meaning:

66. **ʔííní mukk-aní gá-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM come-PURP say-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is about to come'

Similarly, the purposive followed by the non-verbal declarative sentence type marker **-ke** expresses a definite future action.

67. **ʔííní mukk-aní-ke**
 3MS:NOM come-PURP-BE:A:DCL
 'He is going to come'

8.3.5 Preventive (counterfactual) clauses

The counterfactual/preventive is formed by affixing **-nte** to the verb. In section 8.3.4 it is shown that **-nte** is used to mark simultaneous temporal clauses. These two adverbial clauses which employ the same affix differ from each other only in their choice of aspect markers: the simultaneous takes *only* the present imperfective aspect marker **-á-** whereas the preventive may occur either with the Future Imperfective marker **-andá-** or with the Perfective marker **-é-**.

- 68a. **ʔízi táá-m miífje ʔing-andá-nte ʔízá**
 3MS:NOM 1SG-DAT money:ABS give-F:IPF-PRVN 3MS:GEN
mácc-á k'úlp-ó ʔark'-é-ne
 wife-NOM key-ABS hold-PF-A:DCL
 'He would give me money but his wife kept the key'

- 68b. **ʔiyátá jink-ó ʔáád-andá-nte ʔír-á koff-i**
 3PL:NOM Jinka-ABS go-F:IPF-PRVN rain-NOM good-CNV₁
work'-é-ne
 rain-PF-A:DCL
 'They would go to Jinka, but it rained hard (thus making the road impossible to pass)'

The preventive, like the purposive, can occur in the main clause position with the Declarative sentence type marker **-ke** which occurs with predicative nominals and adjectives.

- 69a. **ta míf-á mukk-é-ya d-á-to naattó-ntsi**
 1SG:GEN sister-NOM come-PF-NMZ BE-IPF-CND child:PL-DF:PL:ABS
tá béc'c'-andá-nte-ke
 1SG:NOM wake_up-F:IPF-PRVN-BE:A:DCL
 'If my sister had come, I would have woken up the children (but this did not take place)'
- 69b. **nu ʔáʔinn-á jink-ó ʔáád-é-ya d-á-to**
 1PL:GEN neighbour-NOM Jinka-ABS go-PF-NMZ BE-IPF-CND

nu gurdá koffi c'ewwiyo ge?-andá-nte-ke
 1PL:GEN village very IDEO say-F:IPF-PRVN-BE:A:DCL
 'If our neighbours had gone to Jinka, our neighbourhood would have been
 very quiet (but this did not take place)'

8.3.6 Reason clauses

The reason clause is marked by adding the suffix **-ró** to a nominalized clause.

70a. núúní ʔízá nu ʔínd-ó maadd-é-tsi-ró
 1PL:NOM 3FS:NOM 1PL:GEN mother-ABS help-PF- NMZ-REAS
 galat-á-ne
 thank-IPF-A:DCL
 'We thank her because she helped our mother'

70b. núúní ʔííni góne keezz-é-tsi-ró galat-á-ne
 1PL:NOM 3MS:NOM truth tell-PF-NMZ-REAS thank-IPF-A:DCL
 'We thank him because he told the truth'

Notice that in the examples in (70) above, the subject of the dependent clause is the object of the main clause, however, the object function is left unexpressed. The same equi_NP deletion is observed for subjects, as in the following example:

71. ʔííni harg-ínt-é-tsi-ró maɗ-uwá-se
 3MS:NOM sick-PAS-PF-NMZ-REAS work-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Because he is sick, he does not work'

The suffix **-ró** in the above examples looks identical to the possessive nominalizer **-ró** as in the following example:

72. hánná taa-ró-ke
 this:F:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ-BE:A:DCL
 'This is mine / This is for me'

In Chapter Four, we argued that **-ró** in possessive pronouns such as **taaró** 'mine' expresses a Dative/Benefactive meaning (in other nouns the Dative is marked by **-m**). The semantic connection of **-ró** to the Dative may explain why this same form is used in reason clauses.

(In Zayse, an East Omoto language which is related to Maale, a cognate morpheme **-ró** expresses indirect object; cf. Hayward 1990.)

8.4 The converb

In this section we discuss a salient dependent clause type in Maale which is frequently used in texts as well as in elicited material. As will be shown later in this section, Maale texts contain several 'complex sentences' which express in one sentence sequences of events which in other languages (e.g., English) are often rendered by using several sentences.

Similar verbal constructions are reported for many other Ethiopian languages. However, the terms used to refer to these structures, and the syntactic status they are claimed to have, differ. Gasser (1983) refers to parallel constructions in Amharic as 'converb clauses' while other scholars of Ethio-Semitic languages used the terms 'gerundive' and 'participial' alternatively (cf. Leslau 1968). On the other hand, scholars studying Cushitic languages prefer the term '*medial verb*' (cf. Sim 1989 on Hadiyya; Wedekind 1990 on Burji, Gedeo and Sidamo). In Omotic language studies the terms 'converb' (Adams 1983; Hayward 1992) and 'participle' (Breeze 1990) are used. The terminological differences mentioned relate to the tradition of research. They do not represent a significant difference among the structures described. Given this background, we present the definition of the term used in this study, and subsequently show its morphological, syntactic and semantic properties in Maale.

Haspelmath (1995: 3) defines the converb as "a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." As argued in Van der Auwera (1998), this is a narrow definition of the term, capturing only one of the functions of the converb. We show below that besides its use as an adverbial modifier, the converb in Maale has the function of chaining or conjoining clauses which describe independent states of affairs. We find the definition of the term 'converb' given in Van der Auwera (1992: 281) as "a verb form that is [+dependent, -argumental, -adnominal, -finite]" to be closest to the role of this dependent verb in Maale.

In Maale, the converb may be used as temporal (simultaneous or sequential) or manner adverbial to the main clause. However, while other dependent verbs may inflect for aspect and negation the converb, with one exception, does not inflect for aspect and negation. For this, it is fully dependent on the main clause. The exception is the converb marker -áʔʔo which may occur with morphemes which mark negation (see example 80c below). (Note that for some dependent clauses, the morpheme marking the dependency relation is a portmanteau morpheme expressing both aspectual meaning as well as the dependency relation.)

There are three converb markers in Maale: -í, -áʔʔo and -ém, henceforth labelled CNV₁, CNV₂ and CNV₃ respectively, which are affixed to the verb root.

- 73a. ʔízi mís'-ó tík'-í makiin-aa c'aan-é-ne
 3MS:NOM wood-ABS cut-CNV₁ car-LOC load-PF-A:DCL
 'Having cut the wood he loaded it on a car'

- 73b. *ʒizí mís'-ó tík'-áʔʔo makiin-aa c'aan-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM wood-ABS cut-CNV₂ car-LOC load-PF-A:DCL
 'Having cut the wood he loaded it on a car'

- 73c. *ʒizí mís'-ó tík-ém núúní makiin-aa c'aan-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM wood-ABS cut-CNV₃ 1SG:NOM car-LOC load-PF-A:DCL
 'He having cut the wood, we loaded it on the car'

The converb marker *-ém* is used when the subject of the converb and that of the main verb are different. With *-í* and *-áʔʔo* the converb and the main verb have one and the same subject. However, there is a slight meaning difference between *-í* and *-áʔʔo*: a converb with the suffix *-i* can be used to express simultaneous or sequential events in relation to that expressed by the verb in the main clause, whereas *-áʔʔo* is used only to express the sequential i.e., an action which takes place immediately before that expressed by the main verb. It appears that *-áʔʔo* is more temporally oriented while being similar to *-í* in terms of its syntactic and semantic function. For instance, in combination with the verb *hell-* 'reach', *-áʔʔo* expresses the temporal meaning 'until', 'yet' or 'next', as the following examples illustrate:

- 74a. *ʒííni hátsi hell-áʔʔo mukk-ibá-se*
 3MS:NOM now reach-CNV₂ come-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He did not come yet' or 'Until now, he did not come'
 (lit. Having reached now he did not come)

- 74b. *bérta ʔádé tík'-á-ne hell-is-áʔʔo sóókkó*
 in_front father:NOM cut-IPF-A:DCL reach-CAUS-CNV₂ chyme
béélli bayi tík'-á-ne
 bond_friend cow:ABS cut-IPF-A:DCL
 'First the father (i.e. host) slaughters (a cow). Next, the bond friend slaughters one'

There are two other differences between *-í* and *-áʔʔo*: next to temporal marking *-i* can be used to express manner whereas this is not possible with *-áʔʔo*. For instance, example (73a) above, repeated as (75a) below, can have two interpretations:

- 75a. *ʒizí mís'-ó tík'-í makiin-aa c'aan-é-ne*
 3MS:NOM wood-ABS cut-CNV₁ car-LOC load-PF-A:DCL
 'Having cut the wood he loaded it on a car'
 'He loaded the wood on the car by cutting it into smaller pieces (not by leaving it in one piece or not by doing something else, e.g. splitting or peeling its bark)'

The second difference is that unlike the other two converb markers, the verb with the morpheme *-áʔʔo* may also take the negative marker. Compare the affirmative and negative dependent clauses in (75b) and (75c) below.

- 75b. *ʔyátá múʔ-áʔʔo ʔááǎ-á-ne*
 3PL:NOM eat-CNV₂ go-IPF-A:DCL
 'Having eaten, they leave/are leaving'

- 75c. *ʔyátá múʔ-uwá-ʔʔo ʔááǎ-á-ne*
 3PL:NOM eat-IPF:NEG-CNV₂ go-IPF-A:DCL
 'They leave/are leaving without eating'

Despite its special syntactic and morphological characteristics mentioned above, *-áʔʔo* has the same meaning as the other two converb markers and in some contexts it may be used in alternation with them.

More examples of the converb functioning as an adverb of manner:

- 76a. *ʔatsí tats-í múʔ-á-ne*
 person:M:NOM slow-CNV₁ eat-PF-A:DCL
 'The man eats slowly'

- 76b. *ʔííní bíá kélli kéts-í kéts-í maǎ-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM all day reduce-CNV₁ reduce-CNV₁ work-IPF-A:DCL
 'Each day he works less and less'

We have shown in (73) above that a converb with *-í* can be used to express consecutive actions. The following examples illustrate its use in order to express simultaneous action. In this latter function, the converb is obligatorily reduplicated.

77. *ʔííní múʔ-í múʔ-í gést-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM eat-CNV₁ eat-CNV₁ speak-IPF-A:DCL
 'He talks while eating'

If in the above sentence only one converb is used, then the sentence expresses two consecutive events:

78. *ʔííní múʔ-í gést-á-ne*
 3MS:NOM eat-CNV₁ speak-IPF-A:DCL
 'Having eaten, he talks'

However, the reduplicated converb is used also to express repetitive or distributive actions, as illustrated below:

- 79a. *dǐbbó ba-at-ó fukk-í fukk-í wúlf-ó*
 Several cow-Pl-ABS slaughter-CNV₁ slaughter-CNV₁ canopy-ABS

démm-a kul-á-ne

under-LOC accumulate-IPF-A:DCL

'(They) slaughter several cattle and accumulate (the meat) under the canopy'

- 79b. ʔafʔ-ó beelamm-ó-m sees's'-í sees's'-í
meat-ABS b.friend:PL-ABS-DAT cut_and_give-CNV₁ cut_and_give-CNV₁

biri ʔekk-á-ne

money take-IPF-A:DCL

(They) cut and give the meat to the bond friends and receive money'

Haspelmath (1995: 14) states that in complex sentences containing several converbs, the position of the converbs exhibits tense iconicity. In Maale, such temporal iconicity is attested when the converb is used to express consecutive actions, that is, the first converb expresses an action that takes place first, the second converb the next action, etc. In this case, changing the order of the converbs alters the meaning of the sentence (in some cases rendering it anomalous). For example, (80a) below cannot begin by altering the converbs as in (80b).

- 80a. táání ziginó bookk-ó ʔáád-í ʔafki ʃank'-í
1SG:NOM yesterday market-ABS go-CNV₁ meat:ABS buy-CNV₁
mácc-ó-m máári ʔekk-í yeʔ-í kats-é
wife-ABS-DAT house:ABS take-CNV₁ come-CNV₁ cook-2SG:IMP
geʔ-ém ʔizá kats-é-ne wolla nú múʔ-é-ne
say-CNV₃ 3FS:NOM cook-PF-A:DCL together 1PL:NOM eat-PF-A:DCL
'Yesterday, I went to the market, bought meat, brought it home to my wife and (I) having said (to her) 'cook!', she cooked. We ate together'

- 80b. ? táání ziginó ʔafki ʃank'-í bookk-ó ʔáád-í
1SG:NOM yesterday meat:ABS buy-CNV₁ market-ABS go-CNV₁
mácc-ó-m máári ʔekk-í yeʔ-í
wife-ABS-DAT house:ABS take-CNV₁ come-CNV₁
'Yesterday, I went to the market, bought meat, brought it home to my wife....'

However, when two or more simultaneous actions are expressed by converbs, their order can be reversed without the inversion causing ungrammaticality or significantly altering the meanings. Consider the following examples:

- 81a. na-att-á ʃafk-í ʃafk-í miic'-í miic'-í
child-PL-NOM run-CNV₁ run-CNV₁ laugh-CNV₁ laugh-CNV₁

?amall-á-ne

play-IPF-A:DCL

'The children play running and laughing'

- 81b. **na-att-á miic'-í miic'-í ɓaʃk-í ɓaʃk-í**
 child-PL-NOM laugh-CNV₁ laugh-CNV₁ run-CNV₁ run-CNV₁

?amall-á-ne

play-IPF-A:DCL

'The children play laughing and running'

Opinions about the syntactic status of the converb differ: some claim that the converb is a subordinate form (e.g. Haspelmath 1995); others, e.g. V. P. Nedjalkov and I.V. Nedjalkov (1987, as quoted in Van der Auwera 1998: 276), Bisang (1995: 154) mention converb types which are 'coordinative'; still others, e.g. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), claim that the converb contains both properties of subordinate clauses and co-ordinated main clauses. These authors suggest a distinct syntactic juncture, i.e., co-subordination, which falls mid-way between subordination and co-ordination for the converb. We adopt this latter approach because it reflects the syntactic and semantic status of the converb construction in Maale more properly. The converb is similar to co-ordinated clauses in that it is syntactically partially independent, i.e., it can subcategorize its own syntactic arguments (cf. object nouns of converbs in examples 79-80 above) and it also expresses a semantically independent situation (see also section 8.5 below on the relatively independent status of the converb). On the other hand, the converb construction shares the feature [+dependent] with other subordinate clauses because unlike other co-ordinate forms a clause headed by a converb cannot form an independent utterance. However, the converb in Maale has some characteristics which distinguish it from other dependent clauses: while other syntactically dependent verbs may be morphologically marked for negation and aspect, the converb depends on the main verb for aspect and polarity values (see however, discussion on the converb marker **-áʔo** above). Furthermore, the converb in Maale functions in the nucleus juncture as well. That is, together with a main verb, it forms a 'complex predicate' (also known as compound verb), as illustrated in the examples in (82) below. In such constructions, the converb cannot have different arguments to those of the main verb and no intervening element may occur between the two categories. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) in fact state that functioning at different levels of juncture is one of the properties of converbs.

- 82a. **laal-éll-á wós'-ó laʔ-í zag-é-ne**
 woman-F-NOM sause-ABS lick-CNV₁ see-PF-A:DCL
 'The woman tasted the sauce'
 (cf. **laʔ-í zag-** 'taste')

- 82b. **naʔʔ-éll-á waatsi ʔekk-í muk-é-ne**
 child-F-NOM water:ABS take-CNV₁ come-PF-A:DCL
 'The girl brought water'
 (cf. **ʔekk-í muk-** 'bring')
- 82c. **ʔádé na-att-ó ʔekk-í ʔaad-é-ne**
 father:NOM child-PL-ABS take-CNV₁ go-PF-A:DCL
 'Father took the children'
 (**ʔekk-í ʔaad-** 'take')

It is widely known that SOV languages make frequent use of long sentences or complex constructions consisting of several dependent clauses which are headed by a final, main verb. For example, the following extract from the Maale version of the picture book story entitled "Frog, where are you?" represents one 'complex sentence', which consists of a series of dependent clauses but one final main verb.

83. **bóʔʔ-á karr-ó-na naʔʔ-ómma ked-áʔʔo ʔekk-í**
 w.animal-NOM horn-ABS-INST child-DIM:ABS carry-CNV₂ take-CNV₁
- ʃaʃk-áza kan-éll-á bérta bérta ʃaʃk-í ʃaʃk-í**
 run-TEMP₁ dog-F-NOM in_front in_front run-CNV₁ run-CNV₁
- gá-á-nte mági kéémm-ats-ídda muk-áʔʔo iika**
 say-IPF-SIMUL cliff:ABS huge-M-LOC come-CNV₂ there
- mágg-a ʒib-áʔʔo bóʔʔ-atsi maʔ-í ʔáád-áza**
 cliff-LOC throw-CNV₂ w.animal-M:NOM return-CNV₁ go-TEMP₁
- iika lúú mágg-ó gidd-ó-ídda naʔʔ-ómmá**
 there down cliff:DF-ABS interior-ABS-LOC child-DIM:NOM
- ʔágitsi loomm-í bak'anná-ppa mek'k'-í ɗab-áʔʔo**
 backwards fall-CNV₁ neck:ABS-ABL break-CNV₁ err-CNV₂
- kan-éll-ó-na wolla ʃaʃʔ-í súkk-ó pink'-é-ne**
 dog-F-ABS-INST together run-CNV₁ across-ABS cross-PF-A:DCL

'The wild animal ran with the little boy on its horns. The dog also ran in front of it. And then they reached the edge of a big cliff. The wild animal threw the little boy there, over the cliff and went away. Down in the ravine, the little boy fell backwards, almost breaking his neck. Then he and the dog crossed the cliff running.'

(lit. 'The wild animal having carried the little boy with its horn, when it is running, while the dog also is running in front (of the wild animal), having reached the edge of a big cliff, there, having thrown (the boy) in the big cliff when the wild animal went back, there, down inside the ravine the little boy

having fallen backwards, his neck almost broken, (he) together with the dog crossed to the other side')

As example (83) above illustrates complex sentences often correspond to an information unit such as a *paragraph*. Wedekind (1990: 80) uses 'complex sentence' and 'paragraph' as equivalent terms in describing parallel structures in some Cushitic languages. Stirling (1993: 17-18) argues against the equation of a complex sentence with a paragraph because switch-reference marking, i.e., identifying whether a participant(s) mentioned in a new paragraph is the same or different from the one(s) mentioned in the preceding paragraph, can be carried over from one complex sentence to the next through the device of *recapitulation clause*, i.e., repeating the final verb of a complex sentence (or paragraph) in the first clause of the next immediate complex sentence or paragraph. To illustrate this in Maale, the first sentence which is uttered following that in (83) above begins by repeating the underlined final verb phrase in (84):

84. súkk-ó pink'-á??o ?iyátá kó?-í kó?-í séka
 across-ABS cross-CNV₂ 3PL:NOM search-CNV₁ search-CNV₁ there
 lé?-á-nte ...
 go sideways-IPF-TEMP₂
 'Having travelled to the other side, while they were searching and walking

Although recapitulation clauses are frequently used in Maale, switch-reference in this language does not operate across sentence boundaries. Thus, Wedekind's idea that in Cushitic languages a complex sentence may represent a coherent information unit, which in typologically different languages is represented by a sequence of independent sentences, is valid for Maale too.

8.5 On switch-reference in dependent clauses

According to Comrie (1983: 18) "Africa has generally been considered one of the areas of the world devoid of switch-reference." He cites Gokana (an Ogoni language spoken in Nigeria) as an exception in having a switch-reference system.

The phenomenon of switch-reference is widely attested in Omotic and in Cushitic languages (cf. Adams 1983 on Wolaitta; Breeze 1990 and Rapold (p.c.) for Bench; Hayward 1990 on Zayse). Nevertheless, detailed study of the phenomenon needs yet to be done. As illustrated in the examples in purposive, simultaneous and converb clauses, in the preceding sections, Maale possesses a proto-typical switch-reference system in dependent clauses. That is, unlike Gokana which only marks switch reference for same-subject and leaves different-subject unmarked, Maale indicates both the presence or absence of co-referentiality between the subject of the dependent and

main verbs. The domain of the co-reference or disjoint reference in Maale involves the sentence. Switch-reference in this languages does not function across sentence boundaries. The category involved in switch-reference in Maale is the subject; object and other nouns in the sentence are not involved in this reference system.

One of the issues in the discussion of switch-reference is whether it obligatorily needs its antecedent. Switch reference in Maale may be used even when there is no overt subject with which co-reference is expressed, if the co-referenced subject can be identified from the context. For instance, (85) is uttered as a response to the question 'Do you mean that new couples are obliged to give their child to the grandparents?'

85. **naŋk-é-to kóʔ-é-to k'ólmo yenk'-óm ʔing-á-ne**
 like-PF-CND want-PF-CND cattle:ABS herd-DS give-IPF-A:DCL
 'If (the new couple) like it, if (they) want to, (they) give (their child to the grandparents) so that (the child) herds cattle'

Consider also the utterance in (86) which involves two dependent clauses and a main clause and an intervening fixed expression which is realized in the form of an imperative sentence. This utterance is an extract from a story about the police managing to capture a fugitive. Notice that there are missing arguments both of the dependent and main verbs.

86. **s'ossí d'umm-ó-na kants-ém ʔark'-í ʔekk-í**
 God:NOM darkness-ABS-INST meet:CAUS-CNV₃ hold-CNV₁ take-CNV₁
ha zag-é s'aabb-ó gel-z-é-ne
 this look-2SG:IMP prison-ABS enter-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'Now believe me, God having let (them) meet in the darkness, (the police) captured (the fugitive) and put (him) in prison'

In (86) the subject of the first dependent clause, i.e., *s'ossí* 'God', is different from that of the main clause. This is indicated by the different-subject converb marker *-ém*. The subject of the second dependent clause *ʔark'í ʔekkí* 'capture', and the main clause is the same and this is indicated in the dependent verb by same-subject converb marker *-í*. However, the subject of these latter two clauses, i.e., *polisá* 'the police' is not lexically realized in this sentence. Examples (85) and (86) show that in contrast to other co-reference marking systems such as the reflexive, switch-reference does not require the antecedent in the same clause. Rather, it seems to be determined by discourse and stylistic features (cf. Wilkins 1988 who shows the same for Mparntwe Arrrente).

In example (86), the fact that the imperative form *ha zagé* 'look at this!' which might express 'listen carefully!' or 'believe me!' occurs between the two converb constructions and the main clause confirms that the converb construction is not a subordinate form to the main clause. Rather it is co-subordinate with the main clause. The two are semantically interdependent.

Concerning the source of switch-reference markers, for some languages, it is reported that the switch-reference affixes developed through grammaticalization of various nominal modifiers (cf. Haiman 1983). However, synchronic grammar can also be the source of this system (cf. Jacobsen 1983, Wilkins 1988, Simpson 1988, among others). The Maale switch-reference system indeed shows that the language uses other independently existing constructions to make the distinction between same and different subject. For instance, different affixes are used to mark the converb when the latter has the same subject as the main verb and when it has a different subject from the main verb. These are respectively *-í* and *-ém*. In simultaneous clauses same-subject is marked by *reduplicating* the same-subject converb marker *-í* whereas different-subject is marked by using the suffix *-nte*. Similarly, in the purposive, same subject is marked by *-aní* (which is connected to the infinitive) while different subject is marked by *-óm*. As stated in section 8.3.5 *-óm* could be analysed as consisting of the Absolutive marker *-ó* and the Dative marker *-m*. Similarly, it could be argued that the different-subject converb marker *-ém* consists of the Perfective aspect marker *-é* and the Dative marker *-m*. The question may be raised whether the similarity of same/different-subject marking and the various affixes just mentioned is an accidental similarity, or whether there is a structural or semantic motivation for the choice of these morphemes which have a different function in the rest of the grammar. Obviously, it is not accidental that a morpheme which marks the infinitival or a converb construction is used for marking same-subject. And, from the point of view of the subject, the Dative in general expresses dislocating something away from the subject. Thus, its use for marking a purposive clause which contains a different subject in the dependent and independent clause does not appear to be accidental. Thus, the reference tracking system in Maale employs synchronically transparent morphology.

Interestingly, Maale also has another type of reference tracking for noun phrases, namely, 'logophoricity', which is a system whereby a special pronoun is used to indicate whether the subjects in the main clause and in the dependent clause are co-referential (cf. Chapter Four). In contrast to the switch-reference described above, logophoricity expresses only co-referentiality; it does not express disjunctive reference. While logophoricity and switch-reference are functionally similar, they differ in that the former expresses the functional identity or lack of identity between two or more nouns on the nouns themselves. Because of this, logophoricity is described as 'iconic'. In switch-reference however, whether two or more nouns are co-referential or not is marked on the verb. In this sense switch-reference is not iconic (cf. Comrie 1983: 22; Haiman 1983: 105). Stirling (1993: 12) rejects this characterisation of switch-reference, by arguing that since languages with switch-reference systems tend to be head-marking, the realisation, in such languages, of referential relations which involve nouns on the verb should not come as a surprise. Unfortunately, this account does not hold true for Maale, which is a dependent-marking language with no

agreement marking morphemes on the independent verb. And yet, Maale allows for switch-reference and 'pro-drop'. Thus, as Wilkins (1988) suggests notions of "reference recoverability" should be examined beyond the syntactic domain.

8.6 Quotative clauses

The quotative clause is syntactically identical to a main clause; it represents thus a 'paratactic' form of clausal linking in which a syntactically and semantically independent form is contained within the scope of another syntactically independent clause (cf. McGregor 1994). The relation between the two clauses is thus one of interdependency. These differ in syntactic status from the 'hypotactic' dependent clauses described in the previous sections.

- 87a [suugg-atsí [táḅḅó waari táá-m c'igg-é] geʔ-é-ne]
 chief-M:NOM ten goat me-DAT pay-2SG:IMP say-PF-A:DCL
 'The chief said: "pay me ten goats"'

- 87b. [ʔatsí [núúni ʔáád-óm] geʔ-é-ne]
 person:M:NOM 1PL:NOM go-1:OPT say-PF-A:DCL
 'The man said: 'let's go'

- 87c. [ʔatsí [naʔʔ-éll-ó zag-íya] geʔ-í táná ʔóóc' c'-é-ne]
 person:M:NOM child-F-ABS see-PF:Q say-CNV₁ 1SG.ABS ask-PF-A:DCL
 'The man asked me if I had seen the girl' / 'The man asked me saying: "did you see the girl?"'

As the above examples show, with quotative words such as 'say' and 'ask' all types of sentences (main clauses) can be put into a dependency relation with another clause.

Maale speakers hardly use 'indirect speech' in reporting. For example, sentence (88) below was given as an equivalent form for both 'The chief said to me, "I am very angry with you, because you are a liar."' and 'The chief told me that he was very angry with me because I was a liar.'

88. suugg-atsí tá ne g-idda koff-í
 chief-M:NOM 1SG:NOM 2SG:GEN inside-LOC good-CNV₁
 d'ag-ad-é-ne néení luuzzi t-á-tsi-ró
 angry-VBZ-PF-A:DCL 2SG:NOM liar:ABS BE-NMZ-REAS

geʔ-é-ne
 say-PF-A:DCL
 'The chief said "I am very angry with you because you are a liar"'

However, when the researcher suggested transforming the embedded direct speech form into indirect speech, as in (89) below, speakers judged this as an acceptable sentence.

89. **suugg-atsí tá luuzzi ʔasi t-á-tsi-ró ʔííní**
 chief-M:NOM 1SG:NOM liar person BE-NMZ-REAS 3MS:NOM
ta g-ídda koff-i dʔag-aʔ-é-ne geʔ-é-ne
 1SG:GEN inside-LOC good- CNV₁ angry-VBZ-PF-A:DCL say-PF-DCL
 'The chief told me that he was very angry with me because I was a liar.'

Since the Maale speakers who expressed their judgement on the above sentence are also fluent in Amharic (the contact language), in which both direct and indirect speech are quite common, we take the positive judgements of the transformed indirect speech forms to be due to the influence from Amharic. In addition to elicited sentences, an examination of texts shows that the speakers themselves do not make use of indirect speech. Languages may develop such latent distinctions into important grammatical distinctions through contact with other languages. Dimmendaal (1998: 508-509) notes a similar situation in written Hausa involving the distinction of 'direct' and 'indirect' reporting. Furthermore, as Dimmendaal (1989, 1998) observes for Hausa, in Maale too, the proposition headed by the quotative verb *geʔ-* 'say' does not necessarily represent 'a verbatim report'; it may represent intention (90a) or an expectation (90b).

- 90a. **ʔííní koom-á-ne geʔ-i loomm-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM jump-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ fall-PF-A:DCL
 'He fell while trying to jump' (i.e., 'Intending to jump, he fell')
- 90b. **ʔas-á ʔízi ʔúkke-na háík-k'-andá-ne geʔ-i**
 person:PL-NOM 3MS:NOM near-INST die-F:IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁
mal-á-ne
 think-IPF-A:DCL
 'People think that he will die soon'

8.7 Co-ordination

If two disjoint clauses have the same subject, the connector *gáánte* 'but' occurs between the two clauses (91a-b).

- 91a. **ʔízá mízáʕʕi-ke gáánte ʔorgocci t-uwá-se**
 3FS:NOM beautiful-BE:A:DCL but rich BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She is beautiful but not rich'

- 91b. *ʔizá ʔorgocci t-uwá-se gáánte miiffje*
 3FS:NOM rich BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL but mooney:ABS
táám ʔing-á-ne
 1SG-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL
 'She is not rich but she gives me money'

However, when (91a) was uttered with *gáánte* in the second clause, the sentence is 'less acceptable'.

- * 92. *ʔizá mízáḅḅi-ke ʔorgocci gáánte t-uwá-se*
 3FS:NOM beautiful-BE:A:DCL rich but BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She is beautiful but not rich'

The subjects of the two clauses can be different. In this case *gáánte* may occur after the second subject.

93. *ʔizá mízáḅḅi-ke ʔizó-ko mífá gáánte mízáḅḅi*
 3FS:NOM beautiful-BE:A:DCL 3FS:OBJ-GEN sister but beautiful
t-uwá-se
 BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She is beautiful; her sister, however, is not beautiful'

In Maale two clauses may be coordinated by using the Inclusive marker *-a*, as shown in the following examples:

- 94a. *ʔizá mízáḅḅi t-uwá-se k'amítsi-ya*
 3FS:NOM beautiful BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL short-INCL₁
lóʔ-induwá-se
 marry-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She is not beautiful and she will not marry soon'
- 94b. *ʔizi ʔorgocci t-uwá-se miiffje-ya*
 3MS:NOM rich BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL money-INCL₁
ʔas-ó-m ʔing-uwá-se
 person:ABS-DAT give-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He is not rich and he does not give money to people'

As shown in section 8.4 above, verbal coordination is also possible through the use of the converb construction.

In summary, one can easily distinguish between main and dependent clauses in Maale by looking at verbal endings. The verb of the main clause ends in one of the sentence type markers such as the declarative *-ne* and *-se*, the interrogative *-íya*, etc. whereas verbs in dependent clauses take various dependency relation markers (see list below). However, there are also cases where main clauses can be used as dependent

clauses, as in the quotative clause in which an independent clause is used as a dependent clause. There are also some examples in which dependent clauses are used as main clauses. This latter case has the pragmatic effect of exaggeration. Consider the following examples:

- 95a. né hidd-é-to woine gel-é-nte
 2SG:NOM be_like-PF-CND prison enter-PF-PRVN
 'Oh, if you were like that, you would certainly have been in prison!'

- 95b. táná ?aigó met-é baazzi ?á-á??o
 1SG:ABS what trouble-REL:PF thing:ABS exist-CNV₂
 'There is absolutely nothing which troubles me!'

Such non-canonical uses of clausal structure need further research.

The following is a list of morphemes marking dependent clause types (labelled DCTM below). AP stands for aspect and polarity. Some of the dependent clause markers occur preceded by aspect markers while others (at the bottom of the list) do not co-occur with aspect markers.

SUMMARY OF MAALE DEPENDENT CLAUSE MARKERS:

<u>AP</u>	<u>DCTM</u>	<u>Clause Type</u>
-é/-á-	-to	Conditional
-é/-á-	-tsi-ró	Causal
-á-	-nte	Simultaneous (Different Subject)
-é/-andá-	-nte	Preventive
—	-áza	Temporal
—	-áána	Temporal
—	-aní	Infinitive and Purposive (Same Subject)
—	-óm	Purposive (Different Subject)
—	-í	Converb (sequential/simultaneous); (SSbj)
—	-ém	Converb (Different subject)
—	-á??ó	Converb (Same subject + sequential)

CHAPTER 9

TRANSITIVITY

In their seminal article Hopper and Thompson (1980) argue that transitivity is not a fixed value of verbs (determined by the presence or absence of a direct object noun, as traditionally accepted). Rather, it represents a continuum whereby verbs can be on a scale from 'more transitive' to 'less transitive' depending on the presence or absence of one or more of the ten Parameters of Transitivity: Participants, Kinesis, Aspect, Punctuality, Volitionality, Affirmation, Mode, Agency, Affectedness of object, and Individuation of object. For instance, clauses involving two or more participants are more transitive than those with just one. However, when the clause with one participant fulfils more of the other parameters while the one with two participants does not, the former will be ranked higher in transitivity than the latter. Thus, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 254) claim for English that the clause: *Susan left* is more transitive than *Jerry likes beer*. Interestingly, Maale treats both of these sentences as transitive. Thus, an equivalent clause to, *Susan left* may occur as a cardinal transitive clause with two core arguments whereas the 'reduced transitivity' of *Jerry likes beer* is explicated by changing the semantic role of the core arguments. 'Volition' and 'control' seem to be the relevant features determining the change in the semantic role and in effect in the transitivity, rather than the mere number of participants (cf. section 9.3 below). With this background, in this chapter, we examine the morphosyntactic means which help to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs in Maale. We show the lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties affecting transitivity.

9.1 Formal distinction

In Maale transitivity is not marked morphologically. However, there are a number of verbs which have different consonant endings for transitive and intransitive forms:

1.	Intransitive	Transitive
	mic' c'- 'burn'	micc- 'burn something'
	ḡéc' c'- 'wake up'	ḡecc- 'wake somebody up'
	ʔigic' c'- 'fear'	ʔigicc- 'threaten'
	kás' s'- 'be ripe, cooked'	kats- 'cook'
	ʔagis' s'- 'move'	ʔagits- 'move something'
	pas' - 'be well, cured'	pats- 'cure'

báik'k' -	'be lost'	baizz-	'lose'
mek'k' -	'break'	ments-	'break something'
múʔ-	'eat'	muuzz-	'feed'
késk-	'go out'	kess-	'take out'
kóʃk-	'be good'	koff-	'repair, make good'
loomm-	'fall'	lonts	'spill, make fall'

Examples:

- 2a. **láádd-á mic'c'-é-ne**
bread-NOM burn-PF-A:DCL
'The bread burned'
- 2b. **ʔííní taa-kó tiis'-ó micc-é-ne**
3MS:NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN fence-ABS burn-PF-A:DCL
'He burned my fence'
***mic'c'-é-ne**
- 2c. **ba-at- á késk-é-ne**
cattle-PL-NOM go_out-PF-A:DCL
'The cattle went out'
- 2d. **ʔííní ba-at-ó kess-é-ne**
3MS:NOM cattle-PL-ABS take_out-PF-A:DCL
'He took out the cattle'

9.2 Transitivity and subcategorization

Based on the number of core arguments they can take, most Maale verbs can be divided into one-place verbs (intransitive) and two-place verbs (transitive). The former normally take one core argument while the latter take at least two core arguments. The following examples illustrate these two cases:

- 3a. **harg-á ʔatsí ʔagis's'-á-ne**
sick-IPF:REL person:M:NOM move-IPF-A:DCL
'The patient moved'
- 3b. **na-att-á bayi yenk'-á-ne**
child-PL-NOM cattle:ABS herd-IPF-A:DCL
'Children herd cattle'

Thus, one can have the following two-way division of verbs:

4. One place verbs Two place verbs
ʔatt- 'remain' **yerk'-** 'kiss'

neg-	'be late'	duukk-	'bury'
barann-	'fly'	laal-	'scatter'
de?-	'live, sit'	ɕark'-	'beat'
poʔʔ-	'be light (not dark)'	mal-	'resemble'

However, there are some verbs which may take one or more arguments and can thus function as both transitive and intransitive. Compare the (a) forms in the following examples with the (b) forms:

- 5a. ʔirzi wark'-á-ne
rain:NOM rain-IPF-A:DCL
'It is raining'
- 5b. táná ʔirz-í wark'-é-ne
1SG:ABS rain:NOM rain-PF-A:DCL
'I got wet by rain'
- 6a. ʔizi hell-é-ne
3MS:NOM reach-PF-A:DCL
'He arrived'
- 6b. ʔizi gurd-ó hell-é-ne
3MS:NOM village-ABS reach-PF-A:DCL
'He arrived in the village'
- Also: ʔíini bóʔʔ-ó hell-á-ne
3MS:NOM wild animal-ABS reach-PF-A:DCL
'He touched the wild animal'
- 7a. naʔʔ-á yeekk-á-ne
child:NOM cry-IPF-A:DCL
'The child is crying'
- 7b. núúni nuu-kó ʔád-ó yeekk-á-ne
1PL:NOM 1PL:GEN-GEN father:ABS cry-IPF-A:DCL
'We mourn our father'

Some verbs have an *optional* cognate object noun which is formally similar to the verb. Notice that most of such verbs contradict the semantic notion of a transitive verb, namely that an activity is carried over or transferred from an agent to a patient (cf. Lyons 1968, Hopper and Thompson 1980).

- 8a. ʔíini ʔáútti ʔáútt-áɗ-é-ne
3MS:NOM dream:ABS dream-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
'He dreamed (a dream)'

- 8b. láál-éll-á fēefi * fēék'k'-á-ne
 woman-F-NOM urine:ABS urinate-IPF-A:DCL
 'The woman is urinating (urine)'
- 8c. ʔííní kótsi korg-á-ne
 3MS:NOM dance:ABS dance-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is dancing (a dance)'
- 8d. naʔʔá d'ántsi d'ank'-á-ne
 child-NOM breast:ABS suck breast-IPF-A:DCL
 'The child is sucking at the breast'

Although subcategorisation is a useful means to identify transitive and intransitive verbs, the surface realization of argument nouns does not necessarily suggest that in all two-place or transitive verbs an agent transfers an activity onto a patient, as illustrated above. In some cases, argument nouns can be omitted. For instance, one-place 'weather verbs' can occur with or without the core argument.

9. wark'-á-ne or ʔirzí work'-a-ne 'It is raining'
 zibark'-á-ne or zibári zibark'-á-ne 'It is windy'

Similarly, with some two-place verbs subject or object nouns can be omitted even though there are no agreement markers on the verb from which information about missing nouns can be retrieved. Compare examples (10a-b) with (10c-d) below.

- 10a. ʔas-á ʔúʔk-á-ne
 person:PL-NOM drink-IPF-A:DCL
 'The people drink'
- 10b. naʔʔ-á yeekk-á-ne
 child-NOM cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'The child is crying'
- 10c. ʔas-á ʔála ʔúʔk-á-ne
 person:PL-NOM beer drink-IPF-A:DCL
 'The people drink beer'
- 10d. ʔád-áts-í déʔ-í yepp-ó yeekk-á-ne
 father:NOM sit-CNV₁ mourning-ABS cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'The father sits and mourns' (cf. yeppi 'tears')

Similarly cognate objects may not be realized:

- 11a. ʔííní korg-á-ne
 3MS:NOM dance-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is dancing'

- 11b. **Yíiní kótsi korg-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM dance dance-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is dancing'
- 11c. **Yíiní ?áwtt-ád-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM dream-VBZ-PF-A:A:DCL
 'He dreamed'
- 11d. **Yíiní ?áwtti ?áwtt-ád-é-ne**
 3~MS:NOM dream:ABS dream-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'He dreamed a dream'

Transitive verbs can be further divided into simple transitives with two arguments and di-transitives occurring with three or more arguments. Such clauses may include a subject noun and two object nouns or they may contain a subject noun, an object noun and another noun marked with one of the peripheral cases such as the Dative, Ablative, or Instrumental. Each of these is illustrated below:

- 12a. **Yínd-á na??-ó ?afki muuzz-é-ne**
 mother-NOM child-ABS meat:ABS feed-PF-A:DCL
 'The mother fed the child (with) meat'
- 12b. **Yízi Yítins'-ó mís'-a túkk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM beehive-ABS tree-LOC tie-IPF-A:DCL
 'He tied the beehive to the tree'

The number of core arguments of verbs is obligatorily increased when the causative marker is affixed.

- 13a. **waas'-á burk'-á-ne**
 water-NOM boil-IPF-A:DCL
 'The water is boiling'
- 13b. **Yízi waatsi burk'-is-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM water:ABS boil-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is boiling water'
- 13c. **Yízi Yízó waatsi burk'-is-is-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM 3FS:ABS water:ABS boil-CAUS-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
 'He lets her boil water'

Similarly, simple transitive verbs and di-transitive verb roots (expressing involved causer) may have different verbal endings and subcategorization (see also Chapter Five).

- 14a. **naʔʔ-á dalk'-ó ʔúfk-é-ne**
 child-NOM soup-ABS drink-PF-A:DCL
 'The boy drank the grain soup'
- 14b. **ʔindá naʔʔ-ó dalk'-ó ʔuff-é-ne**
 mother-NOM child-ABS soup-ABS drink:CAUS-PF-A:DCL

In contrast to the causative, when the passive is suffixed the number of arguments decreases. The agent noun in passives is often left unexpressed.

- 15a. **s'ilá koida nayi ʔekk-é-ne**
 hawk:NOM chicken:ABS child:ABS take-PF-A:DCL
 'A hawk took a chick'
- 15c. **koida nayí ʔekk-ínt-é-ne**
 chicken:ABS child:NOM take-PAS-PF-A:DCL
 'A chick is taken'

9.3 Transitivity and semantic relations

The notion of subject is crucial in Maale. As shown in Chapter Eight, different morphemes are used which indicate the identity or lack of identity of subject nouns in main and dependent clauses. There are also a few verbs which incorporate information as to the singular-plural status of the subject. That is, these verbs refer to collective actions and accordingly, they cannot co-occur with a singular subject:

16. **dirg-** 'to run together'
ʔard- 'to enter together'
goʔʔ- 'to go/move together'

Compare the grammatical (17a) and ungrammatical forms (17b) below.

- 17a. **na-att-á s'aabb-ó bantsi dirg-é-ne**
 child-PL-NOM prison-ABS DIRECT run together-PF-A:DCL
 'The children ran together towards the prison'
- 17b. * **naʔʔ-atsí s'aabb-ó bantsi dirg-é-ne**
 child-M:NOM prison-ABS DIRECT run together-PF-A:DCL
 'The boy ran towards the prison'

Experiencer nouns may be realized with Nominative case (i.e. as Subject) or with Absolutive case (i.e., as Object) depending on the Volitionality of the subject. In the former case an intransitive or simple transitive verb is used (18a) and (19a). When

the experiencer is realized as a non-subject, the causative form of the verb is used (18b) and (19b):

- 18a. **táání** **sóoge** **naʃk-uwá-se**
 1SG:NOM salt:ABS like-NEG:IPF-N:DCL
 'I don't like salt'

- 18b. **sóogé** **tána** **naʃʃ-uwá-se**
 salt:NOM 1SG:ABS like:CAUS-NEG:IPF-N:DCL
 'I don't like salt' ('Salt does not agree with me')

- 19a. **táání** **móóti** **naʃk-á-ne**
 1SG:NOM argument:ABS like-IPF-A:DCL
 'I like arguing'

- 19b. **móóti** **tána** **naʃʃ-á-ne**
 argument:NOM 1SG:ABS like:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'I like arguing' ('Arguing makes me happy')

The choice of transitive or di-transitive or causative verbs in the above examples relates to volitionality. In examples (18b) and (19b) the subject does not consciously or purposely act on the patient (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252 on this characteristics of volitionality). Even though **sóogé** 'salt' and **móóti** 'argument' in these examples appear in the Nominative, these nouns are not the agents of the action described by the verb. The use of the causative verb in the (b) examples suggests that there is an unspecified agent involved. These examples suggest that a proto-typical subject in this language is a volitional, animate noun. An animate subject lacking volition can thus be realized as a patient noun. Consider also examples (20) and (21) below, which involve different verb roots, i.e., **ʔis's'**- vs **ʔits-** when the grammatical relation/semantic role of subject are changed:

- 20a. **táání** **ʔizá** **ʔis's'-á-ne**
 1SG:NOM 3PL-ABS refuse-IPF-A:DCL
 'I hate him' (I refuse him)

- 20b. **ʔizi** **tána** **ʔis's'-á-ne**
 3PL: NOM 1SG:ABS refuse-IPF-A:DCL
 'He hates me' (He refuses me)

But with the verb **ʔits-**, which seems to contain transitive/causative meaning, involuntary experience is expressed:

21. **ʔizi** **tána** **ʔits-á-ne**
 3PL: NOM 1SG:ABS refuse:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'He disgusts me' (lit. He causes me to refuse')

Other experienter verbs involving the same subject/object relations include:

22. **mifk-** 'be saturated' **miff-** 'saturate'
boit-áf- 'be bored' **boit-á-s-** 'bore somebody'

It is often said that motion verbs only have one core argument which refers to the participant which undergoes change of location (cf. Gruber 1976, Jackendoff 1976, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). However, motion verbs in Maale take not only the Theme, the participant undergoing change of state, but also the Goal, i.e., object noun marked in the Absolutive case. For example as an answer to **né ?ánka ?áádf-é-y** 'where are you going?' one gets:

- 23a. **tá** **besi** **?áádf-uwá-se**
 1SG:NOM place:ABS go-NEG:IPF-N:DCL
 'I go nowhere'
- 23b. **?iyátá** **besi** **?áádf-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM place:ABS go-PF-A:DCL
 'They went somewhere'

Definite nouns with Absolutive case are also used as objects of motion verbs:

- 24a. **?ayale jink-ó** **?áádf-iya**
 A. Jinka-ABS go-PF:Q
 'Did Ayele go to Jinka?' (cf. **jinka** 'place name')
- 24b. **né** **timirte** **máár-ó** **?ód-é**
 2SG:NOM school house-ABS go_up-2SG:IMP
 'You go up to the school' (cf. **timirte maari** 'a school')
- 24c. **?intsí** **gískir-ó** **?ód-íya**
 2PL:NOM G.-ABS go_up-PF:Q
 'Did you (PL) climb the Giskiri mountain?' (cf. **giskiri** 'name of a mountain')
- 24d. **pank'-atsí** **gar-ó** **gel-é-ne**
 frog-M-NOM interior-ABS enter-PF-A:DCL
 'The frog entered into the interior of the house' (cf. **garsí** 'interior')
- 24e. **?iyátá** **mís'ó** **baakk-ó** **hánt-á-nte**
 3PL:NOM tree-ABS middle-ABS walk-IPF-TEMP₃
 'When they were walking in the middle of the forest, ...' (cf. **baaka** 'middle')
- 24f. **na??á** **púúpp-ó** **mís'-atsi** **gi?-é-ne**
 child-NOM big-AGR tree-M:ABS climb-PF-A:DCL
 'The boy climbed up the big tree' (cf. **mítsi** 'a tree')

If motion verbs are followed by **bantsi** 'towards', this specifies the path and not the goal of the motion. Motion verbs do not take nouns with locative markers either. If the latter are used, they refer not to the goal of the motion but to the site where the motion occurs. Consider the following examples:

25a. **jinka bantsi ʔááǎ-é-ne**
 Jinka towards go-PF-A:DCL
 'He went towards Jinka'

25b. ***jink-a ʔááǎ-é-ne**
 Jinka-LOC go-PF-A:DCL
 'He went to Jinka'

25c. ***jink-ka ʔááǎ-é-ne**
 Jinka-LOC go-PF-A:DCL
 'He went to Jinka'

25d. **? jinka-ídda ʔááǎ-é-ne**
 Jinka-LOC go-PF-A:DCL

Example (25d) might be used in the context that one who already lives in Jinka went to a specific place, e.g. to a hospital, to a school, etc. which is located in Jinka and not in some other town.

It seems that some verbs are obligatorily transitive while others might function either as a transitive or intransitive verb. For example, the verb **haff-** 'give up, leave' always occurs as a transitive verb:

26a. **ʔízi máǎ-ó haff-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM work-ABS give_up-PF-A:DCL
 'He gave up the work'

26b. **ʔízi gurd-ó haff-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM village-ABS give_up-PF-A:DCL
 'He left the village'

Similarly, **maǎ-** 'work, do' always occurs with an object noun. Even when the patient, i.e. the work to be done is not clear from the context, a cognate object is used as in (27a).

27a. **ʔízi máǎ-ó maǎ-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM work:ABS work-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is doing (some) work'

27b. **ʔízi goǎ-ó maǎ-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM farm-ABS work-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is working in the farm'

CHAPTER 10

INTERROGATIVES

In Chapter Seven we have shown how the difference between interrogatives and other sentence types is indicated through affixes attached to verbs. In this chapter, we take a closer look at the morphology, syntax and lexical properties of interrogatives. For this purpose, it is useful to divide Maale interrogatives into two types: polar interrogatives, which elicit “yes” or “no” answers, and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words. Each of these is discussed in turn below.

10.1 Polar interrogatives

10.1.1 *Informative polar interrogatives*

Aspectual distinctions play a role in the formal realization of the verb in polar interrogatives. In the Imperfective, polar interrogatives are not morphologically marked on the verb. The verb in the Imperfective interrogative form consists only of the verb root and one of the Imperfective aspect markers *-á* or *-andá*. Still, this type of an interrogative sentence can be distinguished from other sentence types by the rising intonation on the verb and by the absence of any other sentence-type marker on the verb. There are clear differences in intonation among the different sentence types and between Perfective and Imperfective interrogatives. Unfortunately, lack of proper instruments prevented us from recording acoustic information in the field. The following sentences illustrate the morphological differences between declarative affirmative sentences and their polar interrogative counterparts in the Imperfective aspect.

- 1a. *nee-kó* *mácc-á* *?aʃk-ó* *kats-á-ne*
 2SG:GEN-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-IPF-A:DCL
 ‘Your wife cooks meat’
- 1b. *nee-kó* *mácc-á* *?aʃk-ó* *kats-andá-ne*
 2SG:GEN-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-F:IPF-A:DCL
 ‘Your wife will cook meat’
- 1c. *nee-kó* *mácc-á* *?aʃk-ó* *kats-á*
 2SG:GEN-GEN wife:NOM meat-ABS cook-IPF:Q
 ‘Is your wife cooking the meat?’

- 1d. **nee-kó mácc-á ?aʃk-ó kats-andá**
 2SG:GEN-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-IPF:Q
 'Will your wife cook the meat?'

In the Perfective aspect, polar interrogatives are marked by the suffix *-iya*. In this case the verb may optionally take rising intonation. Compare the interrogative sentences in (2b and 3b) with the affirmative ones in (2a and 3a)

- 2a. **nee-kó mácc-á ?aʃk-ó kats-é-ne**
 2SG-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-PF-A:DCL
 'Your wife cooked the meat'
- 2b. **nee-kó mácc-á ?aʃk-ó kats-íya**
 2SG-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-PF:Q
 'Did your wife cook the meat?'
- 3a. **ʒííní bookk-ó ?ááád-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM market-ABS go-PF-A:DCL
 'He went to the market?'
- 3b. **ʒííní bookk-ó ?ááád-íya**
 3MS:NOM market-ABS go-PF:Q
 'Did he go to the market?'

The response to polar interrogatives may contain *?eyí?e* 'no' or *híyyo* 'yes' which may be followed by an explanatory sentence. The response to (4a) below, may thus be as in (4b) or (4c):

- 4a. **nee-kó mácc-á ?aʃk-ó kats-íya**
 2SG-GEN wife-NOM meat-ABS cook-PF:Q
 'Did your wife cook the meat?'
- 4b. **?eyí?e móló kats-é-ne**
 no fish:ABS cook-IPF-A:DCL
 'No, she cooked fish'
- 4c. **híyyo ʒízá ?aʃk-ó kats-é-ne**
 yes 3FS:NOM meat-ABS cook-PF-A:DCL
 'Yes, she cooked the meat'

10.1.2 *Permissive polar interrogatives*

'Permissive interrogatives' appear to be more of a suggestion than a real question (to the addressee) whose positive or negative response will determine whether the action can be carried out or not. Such question forms are marked on the verb with *-ondó*. This question form is always accompanied by rising intonation. As may be expected,

this question type involves the Imperfective aspect only. Notice also the partial formal similarity between the morpheme *-ondó* and *-andá-*, which marks Future Imperfective in affirmative sentences.

- 5a. *zíró mukk-ondó*
tomorrow come-PERM:Q
'May I come tomorrow?'
- 5b. *ʔintsí-na wolla múʔ-ondó*
2PL-INST together eat-PERM:Q
'May I eat with you?'

10.2 Non-polar interrogatives

Two types of non-polar interrogatives are identified: those involving content question words and 'rhetorical interrogatives'. The verb in these two interrogative forms is differently marked. In non-polar interrogatives with content question words, the verb is affixed with the interrogative particle *-y* whereas in rhetorical interrogatives it is affixed with *-mó*. The latter type does not require content question words.

10.2.1 *Non-polar interrogatives with content question words*

There are about fifteen content question words in Maale. However, all of these seem to have been derived from two basic forms *wo-/wa-* and *ʔo-/ʔa-*. In most cases, as in (6a) and (6b) below, the morphemes added to these basic forms cannot easily be identified synchronically. (For some suggestions, see below.)

- 6a. *ʔaigé* 'what (NOM)'
ʔaigó 'what (ABS)'
ʔáiddó 'when'
ʔánko 'where'
- 6b. *wozí* 'how (in greetings)'
wozíʔʔi 'how'
wóddí 'how'
wommáíddi 'how'
wommáʔʔi 'how'
wááʔʔi 'how many'

In some cases, as in (7) below, the basic forms are suffixed with morphemes which are identified elsewhere in the nominal category. Note that the tone of the basic forms in (6-7) varies.

- 7a. **ʔón-á** 'who?'
Q-ABS
- 7b. **ʔóón-í** 'who?'
Q-NOM
- 7c. **wo-mma** 'which (DIM)?'
Q-DIM:ABS
- 7d. **wo-yí** 'which?'
Q-M:NOM
- 7e. **wó-nn-ó** 'which?'
Q-F-ABS
- 7f. **wo-ka** 'where?'
Q-LOC

In terms of case marking, the question words **ʔóóní** 'who (NOM)?' and **ʔóná** 'who (ABS)?' in (7) above parallel personal pronouns such as **táání** 'I' and **táná** 'me'. As shown in detail in Chapter Four, the latter involve addition of case markers **-ná** and **-ní** to basic pronouns, in this case **tá** 'I' which, as an alternative form to the inflected form **táání**, occurs independently as a subject pronoun. Similarly, gender and case distinctions in **woyí** 'which (M)?' and **wónnó** are identical to what we find in demonstratives such as **hayí** 'this (M)' and **hánná** 'this (F)'. These, and the locative and diminutive forms of the question words in (7), which clearly involve suffixation, suggest that **wó-/wá** and **ʔo-/ʔa-** are bound question words from which various nominal and adverbial forms are derived. In contrast to the forms listed in (7), the morphemes involved in the question words in (6) cannot be easily identified. Some suggestions: The contrast between the question words **ʔaigé** 'what (NOM)' and **ʔaigó** 'what (ABS)' seems to involve case marking. That is, it seems that the high tone in **ʔaigé** 'which (NOM)' is the same case marking tone attested in the Nominative form of other nouns (cf. Chapter Three). In contrast, the absolutive form of the same question word is formed by suffixing the Absolutive case marker **-ó**; in both cases, the role of **-ig(e)-**, which follows the basic question form **ʔa-**, is not known. The morphemes **-idd-** and the final **-í** in **wóddí** 'how' and **wommáiddí** 'how' appear to represent, respectively, the verbalizer and the converb₁ morphemes. These morphemes are attested elsewhere with demonstratives (as in **híddí** 'having done like this' which contains **ha-** 'this', the verbalizer **-idd-** and the converb₁), and in transitive predicative ideophones, e.g. **zitt-idd-** 'make keep quite' from **zitti** *ge?* 'keep quite'. The **-k-** in **ʔánko** 'where' could have originated from the locative **-ka**, and **ʔáiddó** 'when' might be a contracted form of the question word **ʔa-** and **wode** 'time'.

In the following example sentences, morpheme by morpheme translations of content question words are given when these can be clearly distinguished. In other cases, a translation of the whole word is given.

- 8a. **ʔatsí wo-ká-ppa muk-k-á-y**
 person:M:NOM Q-LOC-ABL come-IPF-Q
 'Where does the man come from?'
- 8b. **néení ʔáiddó dend-andá-y**
 2SG:NOM when go-F:IPF-Q
 'When are you leaving?'
- 8c. **wááʔi ʔatínk'e ʔasí muk-k-é-y**
 how many male person:NOM come-PF-Q
 'How many men came?'
- 8d. **woyí s'aap-int-é-y gá-áza**
 which:NOM write-PAS-PF-Q say-TEMP_i
 'When (one) says 'which one is written?' ...'

In Maale, there is no syntactic movement associated with content question words. These occur *in situ*: subject question words occur in subject position and object content question words occur in object position.

- 9a. **ʔóóní muk-k-é-y**
 who:NOM come-PF-Q
 'Who came?'
- 9b. **ʔízá ʔóná nafk-á-y**
 3FS:NOM who:ABS like-IPF-Q
 'Whom does she like?'

However, as with other nominal categories, optionally, subject-object word order can be switched. Compare examples (9b) above with (9c).

- 9c. **ʔóná ʔízá nafk-á-y**
 who:ABS 3FS:NOM like-IPF-Q
 'Whom does she like?'

Sequences of question words occur:

- 10a. **ʔóóní ʔóná ʔark'-é-y**
 who:NOM who:ABS beat-PF-Q
 'Who beat whom?'
- 10b. **ʔóóní ʔaigó múʔ-é-y**
 who:NOM what:ABS eat-PF-Q
 'Who ate what?'

- 10c. ʔóóní ʔóó-na wolla ʔaigó-dd-é-y
 who:NOM who-INST together what:ABS-VBZ-PF-Q
 'Who did what with whom?'

Content question words may take peripheral cases such as the Dative and Instrumental. When such case affixes are added to the basic question forms which end in a vowel, the final vowel of the question form is lengthened (11a-b). The same phenomenon of final vowel lengthening is observed in short personal pronouns (cf. Chapter Four).

- 11a. ʔóó-na múʔ-ínt-é-y
 Q-INST eat-PAS-PF-Q
 'By whom was it eaten?'
 (compare: tá 'I', táána 'by/with me')

- 11b. mas'ápp-ó ʔóó-m ʔing-é-y
 book-ABS Q-DAT give-PF-Q
 'To whom did (you) give the book?'
 (compare; né 'you'; néém 'to/for you')

- 11c. ʔaig-ó-ppa ma33-é-y
 what-ABS-ABL creat-PF-Q
 'From what did (you) make it?'

Content question words can be conjoined with pronouns or other nouns:

12. táá-na ʔóó-na wór-ó ʔáád-andá-y
 1SG-INSTQ-INST river:DF-ABS go-F:IPF-Q
 'With whom will I go to the river?' (lit. 'I and who will go to the river?')

10.2.1.1 Extended question phrases

Some of the content question words shown above may take other morphemes with which they form question phrases. Consider the following examples.

- 13a. ʔaigó-ró né yeekk-á-y
 what:ABS-REAS 2SG:NOM cry-IPF-Q
 'Why do you cry?' (lit. 'For what do you cry?')
- 13b. háya gude nángí ʔaigé-nde nángí d-á-y
 this:ABS like life:NOM what-kind life:ABS BE-IPF-Q
 'What kind of life is this?' (lit. this kind of life is what kind of life?)

The form ʔaigé-nde 'what kind' obviously involves ʔaigé 'what' and -nde. The form -nde is not an independent word. It is also combined with the word ʔeebi 'something' to form ʔeebín-de 'some kind of, something or other'. Compare examples (13c) and (13d) below.

- 13c. **néení ?eebi mú?-íya**
 2SG:NOM something eat-PF:Q
 'Did you eat something?'
- 13d. **kayzi baak-ka gel-á??o ?eebínde baazzi denk'-á??ó**
 forest:ABS middle-LOC enter-CNV₂ some kind of thing:ABS find-CNV₂
 '(they) having gone into the forest and having found some kind of thing,....'

No other nominals are recorded with *-nde*. It will thus be necessary to regard *?aigé-nde* and *?eebí-nde* as special compound forms.

10.2.1.2 *Special question forms*

Combined with the predicative verb *t-* and with the interrogative particle *-y*, the bound content question words can express 'sentential interrogatives'.

- 14a. **wóit-é-y**
 Q-BE-PF-Q
 'What happened?'
- 14b. **néení wóit-é-y**
 2SG:NOM Q-BE-PF-Q
 'What happened to you?'
- 14c. **na??-á wóit-andá-y**
 child- NOM Q-BE-F:IPF-Q
 'What will the boy do?'

Consider also the following example in which the derived question verb occurs as a converb.

15. **wóy-t-í háík'k'-é-y**
 Q-BE-CNV₁ die-PF-Q
 'How did (it) die?'

In examples (14-15) above, we find that the basic question form *wo-* and the predicative verb *t-* with its inflection and the verbal question particle *-y* are clustered together. As can be seen from Chapter Five, the predicative verb *t-* is an independent verb. In contrast, we have shown in section 10.2.1 that the question forms *wo-* and *?a-* are bound forms which form independent question forms by taking case, gender, diminutive or Locative suffixes. In the absence of such morphemes, the bound question words procliticise to the following independent verbal form as in (14-15).

We have shown in Chapter Five that by reduplicating the initial CV of the verb, Maale expresses the 'intensive'. With content question words, such a reduplication expresses emphasis. The response to the reduplicated question form is also given with the intensive form. The following question and response forms illustrate this.

16a. **wó-wóy-t-é-y**

RDP-Q-BE-PF-Q

'What has really happened?'

na-att-á gar-ó gé-gél-é-ne

child-PL-NOM inside-ABS RDP-enter-PF-A:DCL

'The children went inside!'

16b. **né wó-wó-dd-é-y**

2SG:SBJ RDP-Q-VBZ-PF-Q

'What did you do exactly?'

tá bú-búll-é-ne

1SG:NOM RDP-untie-PF-A:DCL

'I untied it!'

In sentences with question words, the verb is affixed with the interrogative marker **-y**. This morpheme always occurs sentence-finally, immediately following aspect or negative polarity markers. Preceding the verb, the syntactic position of content question words is flexible. For instance, content question words referring to the object may occur before or after the subject as illustrated in (17) below. However, no cases of content question words occurring following the verb are recorded, although this is possible with other nominal categories.

17a. **?aigó néení maď-á-y**

what:ABS 2SG:NOM work-IPF-Q

'What are you doing?'

17b. **?íiní ?aigó maď-á-y**

3MS:NOM what:ABS work-IPF-Q

'What is he doing?'

17c. **lam?ats-ídda-ppa wo-mma néení kó?-á-y**

two:PL-LOC-ABL Q-DIM 2SG:NOM want-IPF-Q

'Which of the two do you want?'

10.2.2 *Rhetorical and disjunctive questions*

Both rhetorical and disjunctive question types are formed by affixing the morpheme **-mó** to the verb root. However, there is a difference among these in the way the second verb of the disjoint clauses is inflected. Each of these are discussed in turn.

A rhetorical question may or may not be accompanied by a question word; the intonation in this type of question sounds similar to that in statements, i.e. no rising intonation. It is mainly used to express lines of thoughts of the speaker in which he/she addresses questions which need not be answered, hence the label "rhetorical".

For instance, the following sentences are extracted from a text in which the speaker tells a story which he has made up based on a picture book known as *Frog, where are you?* The story is told by simultaneously showing the relevant pages to the hearers. The latter have not seen the picture book before and are not expected to answer the questions. Furthermore, the speaker rather quickly gives a response to the questions posed or continues with the next part of the story.

- 18a. **pank'-éll-á ?áńko ?ááď-aní gá-á-mó**
 frog-F-NOM where go-PURP say-IPF-RHT:Q
 'Where does the frog want to go?'

- 18b. **yáá gar-a gel-é-mó ha bilk'ás'á-ppa**
 that inside-LOC enter-RHT:Q this bottle-ABL

kés?-í ?ízá ?áńko?ááď-é-mó
 go out-CNV₁ 3FS:NOM where go-PF-RHT:Q
 'Has it perhaps gone into that, or having gone out of this bottle where did it go?'

- 18c. **?itíns'-éll-ó-ídda góónte n-andá-mó**
 beehive-F-ABS-LOC perhaps BE-F:IPF-RHT:Q
 'Perhaps it is in the beehive?'

The morpheme **-mó** is also used to form disjunctive questions. In this case two question sentences are involved. When such a disjunctive interrogative sentence is used rhetorically, the verb in both sentences is affixed with **-mó** (19a and b); if instead the disjunctive complex sentence is used to address a question to somebody else, as in (19c) below, the verb of the first sentence takes **-mó** and that of the second sentence takes the interrogative particle **-y**.

- 19a. **c'á-c'ánk'-á-mó mól?ú mól?ú gá-á-mó**
 RDP-bitter-IPF-RHT:Q IDEO IDEO say-IPF-RHT:Q
 'Is it bitter or sweet-sour?' (Said after tasting tea with little sugar in it)

- 19b. **?ízá ?er-á-mó ?er-uwá-mó ge?-í**
 3FS:NOM know-IPF-RHT:Q know-IPF:NEG-RHT:Q say-CNV₁
tá mal-é-ne
 1SG:NOM think-PF-A:DCL
 'I thought about whether she knew (it)'
 (lit. 'I thought saying "does she know or doesn't she know?"')

- 19c. **néení suuggatsí-m hannó maď-á-mó zíró maď-á-y**
 2SG:NOM chief-DAT today work-IPF-RHT:Q tomorrow work-IPF-Q
 'Is it today that you work for the chief or is it tomorrow?'

It should be remembered, however, that in non-interrogative sentences, another disjunction marker, i.e., *wóy* is used, as in the following example:

20. *Jimme t-á-to Jimme t-uwá-se wóy*
 cold BE-IPF-CND cold BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL DSJ
ʔóid'i t-uwá-se
 hot BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'It is neither really cold nor is it hot'

10.3 Focus and non-polar interrogatives

When the question word is in focus, a cleft construction is used. The interrogative marker of the verb is affixed to the copula verb whereas the main verb is nominalized:

- 21a. *ʔóná d-á-y yénnó ʔapílló ʔing-é-tsí*
 who:NOM BE-IPF-Q that:F:ABS cloth give-PF:REL-NMZ
 'Who is it that gave (you) that garment?'
 21b. *ʔóná d-á-y hánga muk-á-tsi*
 who:NOM BE-IPF-Q towards here come-IPF:REL-NMZ
 'Who is it that is coming here?'

The nominalized clause can be omitted, as in the following example.

- 22a. *ʔóná d-á-y*
 who:ABS BE-IPF-Q
 'Who is it? (as a response to a call, or a knock at the door)'
 22b. *ʔóná d-á-y muk-á-tsi*
 who:ABS BE-IPF-Q come-IPF:REL-NMZ
 'Who is it that is coming?'

The above examples show that in Maale, content question words are focused using the same means, i.e., cleft construction, as that employed to focus other categories.

The predicative verb *d-* is used in interrogative forms questioning nominals (23). In such forms *d-* is freely interchangeable with *z-*. Interrogative sentences with *d-* involve rising intonation (a similar intonation pattern is observed in polar interrogatives as mentioned in section 10.1).

- 23a. *hayí ʔársa d-á*
 this:M:NOM bed:ABS BE-IPF:Q
 'Is this a bed?'
 (or: *hayí ʔársa zá*)

- 23b. hayí kara d-á
 this:M:NOM door:ABS BE-IPF:Q
 'Is this a door?'
 (or: hayí kara zá)

Also when focus is directed towards the verb, **d-** is used. The focused verb can only occur as a converb.

24. néení ʔáádʔ-í d-á muk-é-tsi
 2SG:NOM go-CNV₁ BE-IPF:Q come-PF-NMZ
 'You have gone and already returned?' (for surprise)
 (lit. Is it having gone that you came?)

Interrogatives eliciting confirmation or rejection of an assertion (i.e., tag questions) are expressed using the copula verb **t-**. Consider the following examples:

- 25a. ʔízá tamaré-ke t-uw-áʔa d-á
 3FS:NOM student-BE:A:DCL BE-IPF:NEG-E:NEG BE-IPF:Q
 'She is a student' 'Is she not?'
- 25b. ʔízá tamaare t-uwá-se gone t-uwá-y
 3FS:NOM student:ABS BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL true BE-IPF:NEG-Q
 'She is not a student' 'Is it not true?'

CHAPTER 11

NEGATIVES

In Chapter Five and Chapter Seven we mentioned that there are five morphemes which mark negation on the verb, and furthermore that the use of one or the other of these is determined by aspect and modality of the clause. In this chapter, details of the morpho-syntactic properties of negation on the verb are discussed. Syntactic issues involving scope and periphrastic expressions of negation are also examined.

Studies in negation have emphasized the distinction between 'sentential negation', i.e. negating the entire proposition and 'constituent negation', i.e. negation of a nominal category within a sentence (cf. Lyons 1968, Payne 1985, Kahrel 1996 and De Haan 1997, among others). In Maale, both sentential and constituent negation are marked on the verb, using the same suffixes. However, a distinction between these two can still be made based on the types of verbs used: for sentential negation either main verbs or predicative constructions can be used. For constituent negation, however, only sentences involving predicative constructions (i.e., 'Be verbs') and cleft constructions are used. This is shown in the following section.

11.1 Negation in declarative sentences

11.1.1 *Verbal sentences*

In declarative sentences, negation is marked by affixing **-ibá-** or **-uwá-** to the verb root. These two morphemes are portmanteau morphemes indicating both negation and aspect: **-ibá-** marks Perfective aspect as well as negation, and **-uwá-** simultaneously marks Imperfective aspect and negation. As in the affirmative Declarative sentences, in negative Declaratives, too, the Imperfective aspect is further distinguished for the Present Imperfective, which is marked by **-uwá-**, and the Future Imperfective, which takes **-induwá-**. Notice that the suffix **-ind-** is an allomorph of the Future Imperfective marker **-andá-** in corresponding Declarative affirmative sentences. The morphemes **-ibá-** and **-uwá-** are alternatively pronounced as **-íbá-** and **-úwá-**, i.e., with high tone on the first vowel. No meaning difference is attached to this alternation. (As argued in section 11.1.3 below, the negative suffix **-ibá-** or **-iba-** seems to have developed from the existential verb root **ba-** with the vowel **i** added as an epenthetic vowel.)

Negative declarative sentences in Maale stand in formal contrast with other sentence types (e.g. with interrogatives) as well as with affirmative declarative sentences. In the negative, a declarative sentence is marked by attaching *-se* to the verb, which is first affixed with one of the negative suffixes *-ibá-* or *-úwá-*, resulting in: **Verb root/stem-ibá/uwá/induwá-se**. In contrast to this, the affirmative declarative contains: **Verb root/stem-é/á/andá-ne**. Compare example (1a) with (1b-d) below.

- 1a. **Ŷiyátá ɓaʃk-é-ne**
 3PL:NOM run-PF-A:DCL
 'They ran'
- 1b. **Ŷiyátá ɓaʃk-ibá-se**
 3PL:NOM run-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'They did not run'
- 1c. **Ŷiyátá ɓaʃk-uwá-se**
 3PL:NOM run-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'They do not run'
- 1d. **Ŷiyátá ɓaʃk-índ-uwá-se**
 3PL:NOM run-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'They will not run'

11.1.2 *Emphatic verbal sentences*

There is another kind of negative declarative sentence. This is marked by suffixing *-áʔʔa* to the verb root. Although aspect is not overtly marked on the verb in this construction, *-áʔʔa* expresses a denial of a state/event that is yet to take place. While the Future Imperfective negative marked by *-induwá-* expresses simple negation, the one with *-áʔʔa* expresses emphatic denial. When the subject is a first person, *-áʔʔa* also expresses emphatic refusal.

- 2a. **ʃáʔʔa tá woini-ya ʔáád-áʔʔa**
 INTJ 1SG:NOM prison-INCL₁ go-E:NEG
 'Nonsense, I will not even go to prison!'
- 2b. **núúní wór-ó ʔáád-áʔʔa máári ʔáád-andá-ne**
 1PL:NOM river-ABS go-E:NEG house:ABS go-IPF-A:DCL
 'We won't go to the river. We will go home!'

In order to express determination (or *positive certainty*), a sequence of two negative verbs, is used of which the former is marked by *-úʔʔa* and the latter by the negative marker *-áʔʔa*. This structure can be represented as follows:

$$V_1\text{-}\acute{u}\acute{?}\acute{?}a + V_2\text{-}\acute{a}\acute{?}\acute{?}a$$

No other category occurs between the two verbs. The V_1 and V_2 positions can be filled by any verb in the language; however, in the expression of more modal notions such as *must* and *certainly*, the V_2 position is filled by *ʔatt-* 'remain' or *haff-* 'give up'. (For other verbs in this slot and the meaning expressed by this, see discussion below.)

- 3a. *ʔiini hannó mukk-úʔʔa ʔatt-áʔʔa*
 3MS:NOM today come-E:NEG remain-E:NEG
 'He will certainly come today'
- 3b. *yeepp-ó núúni yell-úʔʔa ʔatt-áʔʔa*
 mourning-ABS IPL:NOM reach-E:NEG remain-E:NEG
 'We must go to the mourning place'

The morpheme *-úʔʔa* seems to be a contracted form of the Imperfective negative marker *-uwá-* and the negative Declarative form *-áʔʔa*. This contracted form *-úʔʔa* is not attested in constructions other than those shown above. However, in negative interrogative forms the non-contracted sequence *-uwá-áʔʔa* does occur (cf. section 11.7). It is not clear why two distinct negative forms should occur in these constructions. The syntactic status of these constructions is also unclear: they might constitute complex predicates or two co-ordinated sentences. As shown in Chapter Five, there are complex predicates in Maale which have the structure:

V_1 -CNV₁ + V_2 -INFL(ection)

However, in this latter type V_1 cannot take a negative suffix. Rather, negation and aspect are marked only on V_2 , i.e., once for the whole complex predicate, showing that V_1 is dependent on V_2 . In example (3) above, however, both verbs contain the negative suffix *-áʔʔa* which otherwise occurs in main clauses. This suggests that the structure in question involves two paratactic negative sentences. If this view is correct, (3a) involves the expression: 'He does not come today, (he) will not remain'.

When the V_2 position of the V_1 -*úʔʔa* + V_2 -*áʔʔa* sequence is filled by verbs other than *ʔatt-* 'remain' and *haff-* 'give up', the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of the state or event expressed by V_1 is a precondition for the fulfillment of the state or event expressed by V_2 , as the following example illustrates.

- 4a. *tááni suuggatsi zag-úʔʔa ʔáád-áʔʔa*
 1SG:NOMchief:ABS see-E:NEG go-E:NEG
 'I will not leave without seeing the chief' (lit. I will not see the chief, (I) will not go!)

In section 11.7, which deals with negative questions, we further discuss the function of *-áʔʔa*.

11.1.3 *Non-verbal sentences*

We have shown in Chapter Seven that affirmative non-verbal sentences expressing a property or identity of a nominal are formed by attaching the suffix **-ke** to a nominal category (i.e., to a noun, adjective or numeral). We have argued in the same chapter that **-ke** is not a predicative verb; rather, it is a morpheme which marks the nominal sentence as being a simple declarative affirmative one, rather than an emphatic or other sentence type. Thus, sentences with **-ke** are non-verbal. In the negative, there are no non-verbal sentences since, in this case, the negative marker occurs with the predicative verb **t-**. This is in accordance with the morpho-syntax of negation in Maale in which negative morphemes are strictly verbal. That is, to negate some property or identity of a nominal category a verb is obligatory, whereas in order to affirm some property or identity a verb is not necessary. This shows that the opposition between verbal and non-verbal sentences is neutralized in the negative. Furthermore, unlike verbal sentences, negative and affirmative declarative sentences with the predicative verb **t-** do not distinguish aspect, as shown in (5) below.

- 5a. **kani-ke** 'It is/was a dog'
dog-BE:A:DCL
- 5b. **kani t-uwá-se** 'It is/was not a dog'
dog BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

It is interesting to note that in terms of the kind of morphemes it takes and the order in which these occur, the verb **t-** in negative sentences behaves like main verbs. That is, as with main verbs, **t-** is immediately followed by **-uwá-**, which marks aspect and negation, plus the sentence type marker **-se**. In affirmative sentences, however, **t-** and other predicative verbs cannot co-occur with the declarative sentence type marker **-ne**. Thus, in non-negative constructions **t-** never occurs as the main verb in a declarative sentence; it is found only in dependent clauses such as the conditional and temporal clauses. Compare the negative (6) and non-negative (7) conditional clauses and declarative sentences below (cf. **Yizi** 'he', **tamaare** 'student')

- 6a. **Yizi tamaare t-uwá-se** 'He is/was not a student'
6b. **Yizi tamaare t-uwá-to** 'If he is/was not a student'
6c. (cf. **Yizi muk-k-uwá-se** 'He is not coming')
7a. ***Yizi tamaare t-á-ne** 'He is/was a student'
7b. **Yizi tamaare t-á-to** 'If he is/was a student'
7c. (cf. **Yizi tamaaré-ke** 'He is/was a student')

The above examples show that the declarative affirmative sentences pose more restrictions on morpheme combinations and that they make more distinctions, both between verbal and non-verbal sentences and main verbs and predicative verbs, while

declarative negative sentences lack these details. Similar neutralisations can be observed in existential sentences, as the next section shows.

11.1.4 Existential sentences

The existential verb (ʔ)á- 'exist, be present' is replaced by bá- in the negative. As in non-verbal sentences, here, too, no aspect distinction is made (8).

- 8a. **miiffé** **ʔá-á-ne** 'There is/was money'
 money:NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL
- 8b. **miiffé** **bá-se** 'There is/was no money'
 money:NOM exist:NEG-N:DCL

The negative existential verb bá- is formally similar to the negative suffix -ibá except that the former is a verb root whereas the latter is a suffix attached to other verbs. This dual morphological status seems to have an historical explanation, namely that the negative suffix -ibá- developed from the verb root ba-.

There is internal and external evidence for the analysis sketched above. The external evidence relates to the historical development of a Perfective (non-negative) aspect marker -d- in Omotic languages which was shown to have developed from deʔ- 'exist' in Hayward (1984). The case of Maale under consideration involves a parallel development of a Perfective negative suffix -ibá- from ba- 'lack/exist:NEG'. Furthermore, in Wolaitta, an Omoto language related to Maale, negative verb paradigms show irregular tone-accent patterns, in which more than one high tone-accent is marked on a negative verb whereas in its affirmative counterpart an inflected verb gets one high tone-accent. This irregularity is accounted for by suggesting that the negative marking suffix was originally an independent verb with its own high tone-accent which later got cliticised onto the verb (Azeb Amha 1996). Further comparative research among the Omoto languages is needed to verify these claims.

Internal evidence which supports our claim that the negative suffix -ibá- and the existential verb bá- have one and the same source comes from the synchronic use of the non-negative existential verb ʔa- in Maale. This verb is used in combination with a single converb form to express a stative as in (9) and with a reduplicated converb to express a progressive as in (10) below. It should be noted that these constructions can alternatively be expressed with the Present Imperfective marker -á-, as shown below.

9. **ʔizá** **ginʔ-í** **ʔá-á-ne**
 3FS:NOM sleep-CNV₁ exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'She is sleeping'

Compare: **ʔizá ginʔ-á-ne** 'She is sleeping'

- 10a. ʔííní múʔ-í múʔ-í ʔá-á-ne
 3MS:NOM eat-CNV₁ eat-CNV₁ exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'He is eating'

Compare: ʔííní múʔ-á-ne 'He is eating'

Also:

- 10b. ʔííní múʔ-í múʔ-í-ke
 3MS:NOM eat-CNV₁ eat-CNV₁-BE:A:DCL
 'He is eating'

In the above examples ʔa- 'exist' is used (as a non-cliticised verb root) in combination with other verbs to express aspectual distinctions. Similarly, ba- could have been used as a second or third member of complex predicates or clause chains and later got encliticised to the verb root. If the verb ba- is the source of the negative suffix -ibá-, where did the i of this suffix come from? There are two possible sources for this. The first, which looks more plausible in view of the complex predicate formation and also in the use of existential verbs illustrated in (9-10) above, is that the -i- in -ibá- is originally the converb marker -í-. The second possibility is that -i- was an epenthetic vowel. With the exception of the existential verbs ʔa- and ba- verb roots in Maale end in consonants; if ba- got affixed to the verb root directly, then an epenthetic vowel would be necessary to separate the final consonant(s) of a verb root and bá. The alternative pronunciation of -ibá- with or without a high tone on i, which we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, shows that perhaps the process of creating a negative suffix is not yet complete. The fact that both the derived suffix and the source verb root are synchronically functional, shows that we are dealing with a case of a grammaticalization process characterized as *functional split* "[w]here two different developments of one and the same unit coexist in the language" (Heine and Reh 1984: 57).

Based on the grammaticalization route which the Perfective negative followed, one can go one step further and argue that the Imperfective aspect marker -á- was also derived in a parallel way from the existential verb ʔá- 'exist'. Notice also the formal similarity between the independent verb root ʔá- and the suffix -á-. However, this issue is not further pursued here.

11.2 Negation and mood

In imperative and optative forms we have different negative suffixes from those shown above for declarative sentences. Speaking of morphological marking in negative imperatives and negative declaratives, Kahrel (1996: 116) claims that "[W]hether a language uses distinct negative elements in these sentence types appears to correlate

strongly with geographical location." In a map provided by the same author, in which areal distribution of languages which do or do not distinguish between negative imperatives and negative declaratives are shown, no language is registered in the eastern region of Africa using distinct forms for these two sentence types. However, in Maale, and in virtually all other Omotic languages, such a distinction is in fact made.

11.2.1 *Negative imperative*

In non-negative constructions three distinct imperative types are recorded: regular imperative, polite imperative, and non-polite imperative, the first two of which also make a distinction for number. In the negative, there is only one imperative negative marker: **-ippo** for second person singular and **-ippo-te** for second person plural. Consider the following examples:

- 11a. **dend-ippo** **ʔir-á** **wark'-á-ne**
 go-2SG:NEG:IMP rain-NOM rain-IPF-A:DCL
 'Do not go (2SG)! It is raining'

- 11b. **dend-ippote** **ʔir-á** **wark'-á-ne**
 go-2PL:NEG:IMP rain-NOM rain-IPF-A:DCL
 'Do not go (2PL)! It is raining'

11.2.2 *Negative optative*

The negative optative is marked on the verb root by suffixing **-óppa** or **-úppa** to it. In this form, no number and gender distinction is made. The imperative and the optative are in complementary distribution with regard to person: the former involves second person whereas the latter involves third person.

12. **korg-úppa** **táání** **má'do** **mač-andá-ne**
 dance-OPT:NEG 1SG:NOM work:ABS work-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'let him/her/them not dance. I will work'

For first person singular and plural the optative negative cannot be used. Consequently, no forms are recorded corresponding to English 'let me/us not VERB' in Maale.

11.3 *Special negative forms*

The kind of negation we discuss in this section involves Maale forms corresponding to English 'no', 'nothing', 'no one', 'nobody', etc., which are known as 'inherently negative quantifiers' (cf. Payne 1985) or 'term negation' (Kahrel 1996).

In Maale only *ʔeyíʔe* 'no', which is used to give a negative response to a question, can be said to be 'inherently negative'. Expressions which translate as 'nothing', 'no one', etc. however, involve a negative element on the verb and not on the quantifiers or nominals themselves. Consider the following examples:

- 13a. *ʔóóní-ya táná zag-ibá-se*
 who:NOM-INCL₁ 1SG:ABS see-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'No one/nobody(NOM) saw me' (lit. 'Who too did not see me')
- 13b. *ʔóna-a táání zag-iba-se*
 who:ABS-INCL₁ 1SG:NOM see-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'I saw no one/nobody (ABS)' (lit. I did not see who too)
- 13c. *woi-ka-a ʔííní ʔááɗ-ibá-se*
 where-LOC-INCL₁ 3MS:NOM go-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He did not go anywhere' (lit. 'He did not go where too')

Thus, the term 'inherently negative' is not fitting for the above Maale forms.

The form *pétte táʔʔo*, which consists of the numeral *pétte* 'one' and the 'verb to be' *t-* and the converb marker *-áʔʔo*, followed by a negative verb is used to express 'never', 'nothing', 'no one'. It may be interpreted as a nominal or an adverbial modifier, as can be seen from the following examples.

- 14a. *ʔííní pétte t-áʔʔo yeekk-í ʔer-uwá-se*
 3MS:NOM one BE-CNV₂ cry-CNV₁ know-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He never cries'
- 14b. *pétte t-áʔʔo loomm-ibá-se*
 one BE-CNV₂ fall-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Nothing fell down'
- 14c. *pétte t-áʔʔo ʔatt-ibá-se*
 one BE-CNV₂ remain-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'Nothing is left'

Other lexical categories can intervene between the numeral and the verb as in:

15. *táání pétte baazzi t-áʔʔo maɗ-áʔʔa*
 1SG:NOM one thing BE-CNV₂ work-E:NEG
 'I shall not do anything'

It is interesting that Maale uses the numeral *pétte* 'one' to express 'term negation', which, as Kahrel (1996: 28-32) argues, involves expression of zero quantification.

11.4 Negation in complex sentences

11.4.1 Negation in dependent clauses

In subordinate clauses negation is marked by the same morphemes as those used to mark negation in main clauses. Suffixes marking clausal relation occur following the negative marker. Examples (16) and (17) below illustrate respectively, negative conditional clauses and relative clauses:

16. **naʔʔ-á yeekk-ibá-to dík'k'-ó né ʔing-induwá-se**
 child-NOM cry-PF:NEG-CND milk-ABS 2SG:NOM give-F:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'If the baby does not cry, you will not give him milk'
17. **ziginó muk-ibá ʔatsí dabdabbe dákk-é-ne**
 yesterday come-PF:NEG:REL person:M:NOM letter:ABS send-PF-A:DCL
 'The man who did not come yesterday, sent a letter'

The following are examples of relative clauses with negative existential verbs.

- 18a. **ʔiri bá wode**
 rain:NOM exist:NEG:REL time:ABS
 'At the time when there is/was no rain'
- 18b. **waatsí bá besi**
 water:NOM exist:NEG:REL place:ABS
 'A place where there is/was no water'

Negation in adverbial clauses and in converbs is also marked by using the same negative markers as in main clauses. The following are examples:

- 19a. **laal-éll-á zag-uwá-nte naʔʔ-atsí tats-í**
 woman-F-NOM see-IPF:NEG-TEMP₃ child-M:NOM slow-CNV₁
miiff-ó ʔekk-é-ne
 money-ABS take-PF-DCL
 'While the woman was not watching, the boy slowly picked up the money'
- 19b. **ʔiyátá múʔ-uw-áʔʔo ʔáád-á-ne**
 3PL:NOM eat-IPF:NEG-CNV₂ go-IPF-A:DCL
 'They leave/are leaving without eating'

11.4.2 Complete denials

By 'complete denial' we refer to an emphatic negative construction in Maale which is formed with the combination of two headless relative clauses. The first relative clause appears in the affirmative Perfective form while the second one occurs in the

negative Imperfective aspect. The combination yields an exaggerated negative expression.

- 20a. **ʔer-t-é-ya** **ʔer-t-uwá-ya**
 know-PAS-REL:PF-NMZ know-PAS-IPF:NEG:REL-NMZ
 'something completely unknown'
- 20b. **ʃók'k'-é-ya** **ʃók'k'-uwá-ya**
 remember-REL:PF-NMZ remember-IPF:NEG:REL-NMZ
 'something completely unfamiliar'
- 20c. **múʔ-ínt-é-ya** **múʔ-ínt-uwá-ya**
 eat-PAS-REL:PF-NMZ eat-PAS-IPF:NEG:REL-NMZ
 'something that cannot be eaten at all'

11.4.3 *The expression 'nothing other than x'*

The expression 'nothing other than x' in Maale involves the use of a complex sentence construction. The relation between the dependent and the main clause involves the different-subject converb construction discussed in Chapter Eight, namely that marked by **-ém**. Consider the following example:

21. **láádda-ppa ʔátt-ém ʔiyátá melle múʔ-uwá-se**
 bread-ABL remain-CNV₃ 3PL:NOM another eat-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'They eat nothing other than bread'

The subject of the dependent clause in (21) above is *not* **ʔiyátá** 'they'. The unexpressed subject of the dependent verb can be compared to the English expletive 'it'. Such an expletive NP is not used in Maale.

The subject of the main clause can be realized at the initial position of the sentence, as illustrated in (22a) below. Furthermore, as example (22b) illustrates, the verb **ʔatt-** of the dependent clause might optionally be omitted.

- 22a. **ʔííní múúzz-idda-ppa ʔátt-ém melle baazzi**
 3MS:NOM food:ABS-LOC-ABL remain-CNV₃ another thing:ABS

maʔ-uwá-se
 do-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He does nothing other than eating'

- 22b. **ʔííní múúzz-idda-ppa melle baazzi maʔ-uwá-se**
 3MS:NOM food:ABS-LOC-ABL another thing:ABS work-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He does nothing other than eating'

11.5 Negative interrogatives

Two types of negative interrogatives are observed. Firstly, there are those in which the verb is marked by the interrogative particle -y which normally occurs in interrogatives in which content question words are used.

- 23a. **ʔizá gaalli múcci ʔer-uwá-y**
 3FS:NOM Amharic language:ABS know-NEG:IPF-Q
 'Doesn't she speak Amharic?'

- 23b. **néení dend-í suuggatsi gest-is-uwá-y**
 2SG:NOM go-CNV₁ chief:ABS talk-CAUS-NEG:IPF-Q
 'Don't you go and talk to the chief?'

The second type of negative questions are those in which the predicative verb **d-** follows a negative declarative sentence. We have shown in the previous chapter that, in simple interrogative forms, **d-** is only used to question noun phrases, as in:

24. **hayi bóʔo d-á**
 this:NOM wild animal:ABS BE-IPF:Q
 'Is this a wild animal?'

When **d-** occurs following a negative declarative sentence it questions the whole proposition. Notice also that in this type of interrogatives, the verb is double marked for negation.

- 25a. **néení ʔáád-ib-áʔʔa d-á**
 2SG:NOM go-PF:NEG-E:NEG BE-IPF:Q
 'Didn't you go?'
- 25b. **ʔizá máadf-ó kurs-ib-áʔʔa d-á**
 3FS:NOM work-ABS finish-PF:NEG-E:NEG BE-IPF:Q
 'Didn't she finish the work?'

We have shown in section 11.1.2 that the negative suffix **-áʔʔa** denotes negation as well as modality. It is affixed to the verb in independent emphatic negative sentences. Furthermore, unlike the other negative suffixes, no sentence type marker occurs following **-áʔʔa** in Declarative sentences. The interrogative form with the verb **d-** in (25) above has scope over the entire sentence. Interrogative sentences with **d-** are not necessarily informative questions. Rather, such question forms may be used as polite suggestions (26a) or as a reminder for a situation that is expected to take place but did not (26b).

- 26a. **ʔintsí káts-ó m-úw-áʔʔa d-á**
 2PL:NOM food-ABS eat-IPF:NEG-E:NEG BE-IPF:Q
 'You (PL or SG polite) are not eating the food?'

- 26b. ʔĩntsi wór-ó ʔáád-úw-áʔʔa d-á
 2PL:NOM river-ABS go-IPF:NEG-E:NEG BE-IPF:Q
 'Aren't you (PL or SG Polite) going to the river at all?'

As predicted in Bybee (1985), in SOV languages in which interrogatives are marked by suffixes, these suffixes occur as final suffixes on the verb. This prediction is correct as far as Maale is concerned, since verbal affixes such as aspect and negation markers precede interrogative suffixes. Thompson (1998) provides a plausible discourse-based explanation for this. According to this author, since the interrogative signals where speakers exchange turns in conversation, the locus of interrogative morphosyntax is the *prosodic unit*, in contrast, for example, to negation, the locus of which is the *predicate*.

CHAPTER 12

WORD ORDER

In the previous chapters we discussed various syntactic categories with little emphasis on issues of constituency. This chapter presents basic and alternative word order patterns in main and dependent clauses in Maale; and questions pertaining to phrasal categories are dealt with. In addition, it is shown how pragmatic categories such as focus interact with word order. The chapter is organized as follows: Section 12.1 presents data showing word order variation in main clauses. It is argued in this section that of the various possibilities, SOV should be taken as a basic word order for Maale. This position is supported by data and analyses presented in three subsequent sections: 12.2, which deals with word order patterns in complex sentences, 12.3 and 12.4 which, respectively, discuss word order in noun and verb phrases. Finally, we show in section 12.6 that part of the word order variation is motivated by focus structure.

12.1 Word order in main clauses

The most frequent word order in intransitive and transitive sentences is respectively, SV and SOV, as in the following examples.

- 1a. **ʔííní ginʔ-á-ne**
3MS:NOM sleep-IPF-A:DCL
'He is sleeping'
- 1b. **ʔííní salítsi zér-á-ne**
3MS:NOM sesame:ABS sow-IPF-A:DCL
'He is sowing sesame'

However, both VS order for intransitive sentences and OSV order in transitive sentences are attested:

- 2a. **kumm-uwá-se ʔagínn-á**
fill-IPF:NEG-N:DCL month-NOM
'It does not last for a month' (lit.: 'a month does not fill')
- 2b. **waas'-ó táání láál-é-ne**
water-ABS 1SG:NOM spill-PF-A:DCL
'I spilled the water'

In sentences with a Dative complement, there are several alternative word orders. Consider the following examples.

- 3a. **tá** **ʔizá-m** **ɖákka tirbo** **kats-á-ne**
 1SG:NOM 3MS:ABS-DAT little porridge:ABS cook-IPF-A:DCL
 'I cook a little porridge for him'
- 3b. **ʔííní** **haiss-ó pétte pétte ʔasí-m** **keezz-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM story-PL one one person-DAT tell-IPF-A:DCL
 'He tells stories to certain/some people'
- 3c. **ʔád-ó-m** **táání** **maɖ-á-ne**
 father-ABS-DAT 1SG:NOM work-IPF-A:DCL
 'I work for my father'

In command sentences involving the Dative, the Object-Dative complement-Verb order is most frequently used:

- 4a. **ɖákka waatsi táá-m** **ʔekk-í** **mukk-é**
 little water 1SG:ABS-DAT take-CNV₁ come-2SG:IMP
 'Bring me some water!'

Likewise, the position of complement nouns in relation to the verb is also varied. Either the Dative complement or the Object noun in the sentence may occur post-verbally as in, (5a) and (5b) respectively.

- 5a. **mácc-á** **c'igg-á-ne** **ʔizá-m**
 wife-NOM pay-IPF-A:DCL 3MS:ABS-DAT
 'The woman pays for him'
- 5b. **lamʔ-atsa ʔább-ó ʔanní-m ʔing-á-ne laal-éll-ó**
 two-ORD sun-ABS husband-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL woman-F-ABS
 'On the second day, (they) give the woman to her husband'

Adjunct noun phrases may also occur in post-verbal position. Consider the following examples:

- 6a. **né** **hááɖɖí** **bálk'i nang-andá-ne** **bíá k'áné-na**
 2SG:NOM like this cheap live-F:IPF-A:DCL all day-INST
 'You (sg) will live all days as a useless person.'
- 6b. **hayi-mma hell-áʔʔo ʔá-á-ne táání**
 this-DIM reach-CNV₂ exist-IPF-A:DCL 1SG:NOM
s'oossi wolk'á-na
 God:ABS power-INST
 'Up to now I exist, by the power of God'

The subject of a non-verbal sentence may occur preceding or following the predicate, as shown below.

- 7a. **yéy ta ʔádó-ke**
 that:NOM 1SG:GEN father-BE:A:DCL
 'That is my father.'
- 7b. **ta nángo-ke yéy**
 1SG:GEN life-BE:A:DCL that:NOM
 'That is my life.'

Often, the post-verbal position is used for residual information (i.e. "an afterthought"). That is, it may contain a nominal which is added in order to clarify a noun phrase in the sentence and which has no argument status with respect to the main verb. Consider the following examples.

- 8a. **waari waari ʔing-á-ne marmari**
 goat:ABS goat:ABS give-IPF-A:DCL a goat that has not given birth
 '(The host) gives (each of them) a goat, a goat that has not yet given birth'
- 8b. **ʔáápp-ó geejj-á baazzi tá néé-m**
 eye-ABS clean-IPF:REL thing 1SG:NOM 2SG:ABS-DAT
ʔing-óm dēeffa
 give-1:OPT medicine
 'Let me give you something which will clean your eyes, (this thing is) medicine'
- 8c. **pétte laali háya híddí ʔark'-á-ne giir-ó**
 one woman:NOM this:ABS like this hold-IPF-A:DCL waist-ABS
 'A woman holds this like this, (what she holds is) the waist'

In each of the examples in (8) the post-verbal nominal is associated to a noun phrase in the sentence: in (8a) **marmari** further specifies the kind of goat mentioned in the sentence; in (8b) the post-verbal noun **dēeffa** 'medicine' refers to **ʔááppó geejjá baazzi** 'a thing which cleans the eye' and in (8c) the post-verbal **giiró** refers to the demonstrative **háya** which is the object of the verb **ʔark-** 'hold'.

Having noticed word order variation in texts, informants were asked to judge word order variation in elicited sentences, e.g. existential, predicative and simple declarative sentences with possessive noun phrases, sentences with adverbial modifiers, etc. When the arguments involved were definite and when they were morphologically marked for possession or other case roles, all possible word order variations were judged as perfectly acceptable. The following is an example of SOV word order variation in which both arguments are definite:

- 9a. **kan-z-i ?afk-ó mú?-é-ne**
 dog-DF-NOM meat-ABS eat-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog ate the meat'
- 9b. **?afk-ó kan-z-i mú?-é-ne**
 meat-ABS dog-DF-NOM eat-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog ate the meat'
- 9c. **kan-z-i mú?-é-ne ?afk-ó**
 dog-DF-NOM eat-PF-A:DCL meat-ABS|
 'The dog ate the meat'
- 9d. **?afk-ó mú?-é-ne kan-z-i**
 meat-ABS eat-PE-A:DCL dog-DF-NOM
 'The dog ate the meat'
- 9e. **mú?-é-ne kan-z-i ?afk-ó**
 eat-PF-A:DCL dog-DF-NOM meat-ABS
 'The dog ate the meat'
- 9f. **mú?-é-ne ?afk-ó kan-z-i**
 eat-PF-A:DCL meat-ABS dog-DF-NOM
 'The dog ate the meat'

When the arguments of the verb are indefinite or generic, verb-initial sentences are judged to be less appropriate. Consider the following forms:

- 9g. **kaní ?afki mú?-á-ne**
 dog:NOM meat:ABS eat-IPF-A:DCL
 'A dog eats meat'
- 9h. **?afki kaní mú?-á-ne**
 meat:ABS dog:NOM eat-IPF-A:DCL
 'A dog eats meat'
- 9i. **kaní mú?-á-ne ?afki**
 dog:NOM eat-IPF-A:DCL meat:ABS
 'A dog eats meat'
- 9j. **?afki mú?-á-ne kaní**
 meat:ABS eat-IPF-A:DCL dog:NOM
 'A dog eats meat'

But:

9k. ?múʔ-á-ne kaní ʔafki
 eat-IPF-A:DCL dog:NOM meat:ABS
 'A dog eats meat'

9l. ?múʔ-á-ne ʔafki kaní
 eat-IPF-A:DCL meat:ABS dog:NOM
 'A dog eats meat'

Can we conclude from the above data that word order in Maale is completely unconstrained? This does not seem to be the case. Firstly, most of the sentences in texts and in elicited material occur with SOV order. That is, this order has the highest frequency. Secondly, variation from this order may involve focus (to be discussed in section 12.6 below) and other pragmatic effects, such as residual information (as in example 6 above). Thirdly, the prevalent word order in complex sentences, the structure of phrases and the morphotactics of Maale confirm all of the major typological observations made with respect to SOV languages. It is well-known that there is a strong correlation between word order in simple sentences and the order of modifying categories and heads in complex sentences and phrases. For example, it is sometimes claimed that languages with SOV order have Modifier-Head order in noun phrases; and dependent clauses in such languages precede main clauses; such languages have postpositions rather than prepositions (the status of the category 'postposition' in Maale is arguable, see 12.4 below) and SOV languages tend to have suffixal morphology (cf. Comrie 1989, Hawkins 1983, Givón 1984, Foster and Hofling 1987, among others). Sections 12.2-12.3 below show that these correlations hold true for Maale.

12.2 Word order in complex sentences

Generally, dependent clauses in Maale occur before the main clause. Conditional, purposive and temporal clauses, however, might occur after the main clause as the examples in (10-11) below demonstrate. However, the dependent clause-main clause order is the preferred one. Furthermore, some dependent clauses, e.g. the converb construction, cannot occur after the main clause.

10. ʔatsí muk-é-to laal-éll-á ʔááɗ-andá-ne
 person:M:NOM come-PF-CND woman-F-NOM go-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'If the man comes, the woman will go'

or: laal-éll-á ʔááɗ-andá-ne ʔatsí muk-é-to
 woman-F-NOM go-F:IPF-A:DCL person:M:NOM come-PF-CND
 'If the man comes, the woman will go'

11. **ʔatsí mukk-áza laal-éll-á ʔáádf-andá-ne**
 person:M:NOM come-TEMP₁ woman-F-NOM go-F:IPF-A:DCL
 'When the man comes, the woman will go'
- or: **laal-éll-á ʔáádf-andá-ne ʔatsí mukk-áza**
 woman-F-NOM go-F:IPF-A:DCL person:M:NOM come-TEMP₁
 'When the man comes, the woman will go'

As in simple sentences, in complex sentences we find that word order is not strict. For instance, in (12a-b) the subject noun of the complex sentence occurs post-verbally. In (12a) the dependent and main clause share the same subject whereas in (12b) the dependent and main clause have different subjects. In both cases the subject occurs after the verb.

- 12a. **duʃʃ-í kédd-áʔʔo saʔʔ-ó-idda dʔúúk'-é-ne más'-á**
 break-CNV₁ descend-CNV₂ ground-ABS-LOC explode-PF-A:DCL bee-NOM
 '(The hive) having been broken, the bees covered the whole ground'
- 12b. **wáár-á dʔeeʃʃ-é-to wóy más'-á dʔeeʃʃ-é-tó**
 goat-NOM cure-PF-CND DISJ bee-NOM cure-PF-CND
ʃoʔ-int-á-ne naʔʔ-a
 born-PAS-IPF-A:DCL child-NOM
 'If the goat (with its blood and meat) or the bee (with its honey) cures (the mother), the baby will be born.'

The following sentences illustrate that adverbial modifiers too occur in post-verbal position.

- 13a. **ʔuraɖ-áʔʔo laal-éll-ó laali geʔ-í k'ol-í**
 fight-CNV₂ woman-F-ABS woman:ABS say-CNV₁ treasure-CNV₁
woits-uwá-se k'ára
 keep-IPF:NEG-N:DCL good
 'After fighting, (the husband) does not consider the woman worthy and does not treat her well'
- 13b. **né hááɖɖí bálk'-í nang-andá-ne**
 2SG:NOM like_this be Cheap-CNV₁ live-F:IPF-A:DCL
bíá k'áne-na
 all day-INST
 'You will live for the rest of your life as a useless person'

Quoted clauses often occur within the quotative (main) clause headed by the verb *geʔ-* 'say', as in (14a) below. However, there are examples which show that the quoted clause may occur before the quotative clause, as in (14b).

- 14a. **suugg-atsí tááóó waari táá-m c'igg-é**
 chief-M:NOM ten goat:ABS 1SG:ABS-DAT pay-2SG:IMP

geʔ-é-ne

say-PF-A:DCL

'The chief said "pay me ten goats"'

- 14b. **wóbb-á-tsi-na wóbbó maʔ-i beɗ-á-ne**
 crooked-IPF-M-INST crooked happen-CNV₁ be seen-IPF-A:DCL

gaʔ-á-ne

s'oozz-atsí

say-IPF-A:DCL God-M:NOM

'God says "With wicked (people) I will pretend to be wicked (i.e. appear as one who is wicked)'

There are also cases where the quoted utterance follows the quotative clause. In this case it might be necessary to treat the two clauses as paratactic. An example:

15. **hátsi hánnó-ídda hizi geʔ-é-ne tá ʔórgócci-ke**
 now this:F:ABS-LOC like this say-PF-A:DCL 1SG:NOM rich-BE:A:DCL
 'Now, right here, (he) said like this "I am rich"'

Concerning the internal structure of dependant clauses, the common SO word order in such clauses might be altered into OS, as is the case in main clauses. However, the position of the verb in dependent clauses is restricted: the verb must occur in clause-final position. For example, sentence (16a) below can alternatively be expressed as in (16b-d) in which the arguments of the dependent verb assume different positions. In contrast, the sentences in (17) in which the verb in the dependent clause is not final are ungrammatical. The same holds for other dependent clauses.

- 16a. **ziginó naʔʔ-ó-m miifje ʔing-é ʔatsí**
 yesterday child-ABS-DAT money:ABS give-PF:REL person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday is a thief'

Alternatively:

- 16b. **naʔʔ-ó-m ziginó miifje ʔing-é ʔatsí**
 child-ABS-DAT yesterday money:ABS give-PF:REL person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday is a thief'

- 16c. **miifje ziginó na??-ó-m ?ing-é ?atsí**
 money:ABS yesterday child-ABS-DAT give-PF:REL person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday is a thief'

- 16d. **miifje na??-ó-m ziginó ?ing-é ?atsí**
 money:ABS child-ABS-DAT yesterday give-PF:REL person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

'The man who gave money to the girl yesterday is a thief'

But not:

- 17a. ***ziginó ?ing-é na??-ó-m miifje ?atsí**
 yesterday give-PF:REL child-ABS-DAT money:ABS person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

- 17b. ***ziginó miifje ?ing-é na??-ó-m ?atsí**
 yesterday money:ABS give-PF:REL child-ABS-DAT person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

- 17a. ***na??-ó-m ziginó ?ing-é miifje ?atsí**
 child-ABS-DAT yesterday give-PF:REL money:ABS person:M:NOM

wússi-ke

thief-BE:A:DCL

Thus, although some dependent clauses, such as the conditional, might occur after the main clause, this is not possible for all dependent clauses. Furthermore, within dependent clauses post-verbal elements are not allowed. It should also be noted that in relative clauses, the relative clause cannot occur after the head noun. This is not the case with other modifiers of the noun phrase. This issue is taken up in the next section.

12.3 Word order in noun phrases

The basic word order within the noun phrase is: Modifier Head. Thus, adjectives, numerals and demonstratives precede the noun they modify, as illustrated respectively in examples (18a-c) below.

- 18a. **ʔoɸossi mitsi** 'a tall tree'
 tall tree:ABS
- dákka tiiki** 'a little monkey'
 small monkey:ABS
- 18b. **lamʔó ʔas-óntsi** 'two persons'
 two person-DF:PL:ABS
- haitsó ʔasi** 'three persons'
 three person:ABS
- 18c. **hayí naʔʔ-atsi** 'this boy'
 this:M:NOM child-M:ABS
- hánná naʔʔ-éll-á** 'this girl'
 this:F:NOM child-F-NOM

The word order shown above can be reversed into Noun-Adjective, Noun-Numeral etc. However, this word order alternation has consequences: morphological gender, number and syntactic and semantic case roles of the head noun, if any, are realized on the modifying category. Consider the following examples in which adjectival, demonstrative and numeral modifiers occur following the head noun.

- 19a. **kúkúte keemm-atsí gar-á-ppa kəsʔ-áza**
 owl huge-M:NOM inside-LOC-ABL go out-TEMP₁
 'When a huge owl came out from inside...'
- 19b. **ʔas-ó yentsí-na wolla kaafi ʔark'-á-ne**
 people-PL those:ABS-INST together ritual hold-IPF-A:DCL
 'With those people (he) starts the ritual'
- 19c. **bért-ád-í bayi pétte tik'-á-ne**
 infront-VBZ-CNV₁ cattle:ABS one cut-IPF-A:DCL
 'First, he slaughters a cow'

The examples in (19) show that despite the variable order of nouns and modifiers, these two categories form a close syntactic unit. Foster and Hofling (1987) show that case marking adjectives in SOV languages corresponds to word order alternation. Thus, when in such languages the expected AN word order is altered into NA, the adjective is marked for agreement in case. The functional explanation for the interaction between word order variation and agreement, according to these authors, is that: "agreement often appears to facilitate the processing of information when constituents are in orders irregular in a specific language or are distant from each other." (Foster and Hofling 1987: 480).

The genitive construction* in Maale can be formed by juxtaposition, i.e., with Possessor [-] Possessed word order:

20. **kana ?unke** 'a dog's tail'
dog:ABS tail:ABS

Another possibility is morphological marking: as Possessor-ko Possessed, e.g. **kanó-ko ?únke** 'a dog's tail' (for details, cf. Chapter Three). As might be expected, in Genitive constructions in which the possessor and possessed noun are distinguished only by their position, word order cannot be altered without changing meaning. In morphologically marked genitive constructions, however, the head noun can occur before the modifier as in (21a) below. More interestingly, in such constructions an intervening adverbial modifier might occur between the possessor and the possessed noun as example (21b) demonstrates.

- 21a. **na??-á taa-kó koff-i harg-á-ne**
child-NOM 1SG-GEN good-CNV₁ be_sick-IPF-A:DCL
'My child is very sick'
- 21b. **betekristánn-ó-ko gintsa siráát-ó núúní wóbb-is-aní**
church-ABS-GEN again discipline-ABS 1PL:NOM crooked-CAUS-PURP
t-uwá-se
BE:IPF:NEG-N:DCL
'We do not intend to spoil the church's discipline as well'

Also, a quantifier can occur following the noun it modifies. Furthermore, an intervening temporal modifier may occur between the head noun and the quantifier. This can be seen in example (22a) in which **hannó** 'today' occurs between the head noun **núúní** and the quantifier **gúbetsi** 'all'. Compare this to (22b), which shows the unmarked position of quantifiers.

- 22a. **hátsi núúní hannó gúbe-tsi kálló-ke**
now 1PL:NOM today all-PL naked-BE:A:DCL
'Well, today, we are all naked' (i.e., we are ashamed)
- 22b. **gúbe sa??-á nee-ró-ke**
all land-NOM 2SG:GEN-GEN:NMZ₁-BE:A:DCL
'All the land is yours'

12.4 Word order in verb phrases

Unlike the noun phrase, the verb phrase in Maale does not strictly abide by the 'adjacency principle' which, as stated in Givón (1995: 179), observes "a strong tendency in languages for functionally-related operators to be placed next to their

23a.	saní repeatedly	ʔing- give	‘give repeatedly’
23b.	saní repeatedly	soof- work	‘work repeatedly’
24a.	gaazzi take much	ʔaad-é-ne go-PF-A:DCL	‘take much and go’
24b.	gaazzi take much	mukk-é-ne come-PF-A:DCL	‘take much and come’

25a. Object + V

25b. Adverb + V

ʒizi gútte ʔek'k'-á-ne
3MS:NOM early stand_up-IPF-A:DCL
'He gets up early'

25c. Locative complement + V

fooc'-á saʔʔ-aa déʔ-é-ne
 guest:PL-NOM earth-LOC sit-PF-A:DCL
 'The guests sat on the floor'

For variation from the above basic order in VPs, see section 12.1 above.

12.5 Excursus: are there postpositions in Maale?

One of the issues in word order universals is whether or not a language has prepositions or postpositions. As mentioned above, SOV languages tend to have postpositional phrases in which the modifying noun precedes the postposition. Before discussing word order in postpositional phrases, we will first raise questions related to the status of this category in Maale.

The distinction between adpositions and semantic/peripheral cases has been a centre of attention in various studies (to mention a few, Andrews 1985, Blake 1994, Comrie and Polinsky 1998). In Omotic studies, this issue is particularly problematic because even for closely related languages of this family, significantly different terminology and analyses are sometimes given. For example, cognate morphemes are identified in one language as 'postpositions' while in the other they are labelled as 'case markers'. In a few cases, the choice of terminology can be attributed to theoretical approaches used as background for analyses. In structural linguistics and in formal theories of syntax, for example, postpositions are one of the four universal lexical categories and are expected to be found in every language. However, it has also been claimed that the syntactic categories adjective and adposition are not universally valid categories (cf. Dixon 1982, DeLancey 1997, van Valin and LaPolla 1997, among others).

Most of the 'postpositions' or 'cases' in closely related Omotic languages have formally and/or semantically cognate forms in Maale. These fall into one of the following two groups:

- ◆ morphologically independent forms such as: **démme** 'under', **ʔútsi** 'top, body', **kóra** 'side', **ʔác'i** 'side, area', **garsí** 'inside, interior' etc. and,
- ◆ morphologically bound forms such as : **-ppa** 'Source/Ablative', **-ídda**, **-ka** or **-aa** 'Locative', **-m** 'Dative/Benefactive', etc.

In our analysis, the independent words in the first group are analysed as 'Locative nominals'; whereas forms belonging to the second group are labelled 'peripheral cases'. As can be seen from the list, Locative nominals in Maale include those relational terms expressing spatial information such as 'interiority', 'superiority', etc. Some of these are body part nouns and they take Absolutive, Genitive,

Instrumental or Locative cases, depending on their case role in a construction or a combination of cases (see Chapter Three). Consider the following example in which *ʔutsi* 'body' is used as a Locative nominal.

26. *sínn-á s'arbez-ó ʔus'-a ʔá-á-ne*
 cup-NOM table-ABS body-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The cup is on top of the table'

Compare the above example with the following Genitive construction in which the head noun *ʔutsi* 'body' is realized with a Nominative case:

27. *naʔʔ-ó ʔus'-á kink'-é-ne*
 child-ABS body-NOM be_dirty-PF-A:DCL
 'The child's body is dirty'

It may be suggested that the 'peripheral case' markers listed above be analysed as postpositions. Such an analysis would ignore the fact that, unlike other independent syntactic categories in Maale such as nouns and adjectives which are independent lexical categories and unlike verbs which are roots, all of the forms belonging to peripheral case markers are suffixes. It is possible that these forms represent a morphologically reduced nominal or postpositional element by undergoing various grammaticalization processes. We follow Andrew (1985) and Luraghi (1991), among others, in treating only bound morphemes such as *-ídda* and *-ka* (which express semantic relations) as case suffixes. However, we still maintain that peripheral case suffixes differ in syntactic status and semantic expression from the more structural Nominative (which may be used to mark nouns with different semantic roles including patient nouns in passive constructions) and Absolutive cases, as our use of the terms 'core cases' and 'peripheral cases' to refer to these two types suggests. As discussed in Chapter Three, this hierarchical division of case markers is justified by morphological restrictions as well.

With regard to word order issues, locative nominals generally occur following their modifiers, e.g. *s'arbez-ó ʔus'-a* 'on the table' (i.e., 'table-ABS body-LOC') in (26) above. However, unlike what we have shown for other noun phrases, when this word order is reversed, the case of the head noun is not transferred to the modifier. Both nouns keep the case suffixes which they would receive if they occurred in Modifier-Head order. For instance, we would expect to find the Locative nominal in (28) below in the Modifier-Head order as: *bóʔʔátsíko démma* 'under the wild animal'. This word order is altered but case marking remains the same.

28. *kan-á démm-a bóʔʔátsí-ko ʔek'-k'-é-ne*
 dog-NOM under-LOC animal-M-GEN stand-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog stood under the wild animal' (lit. The dog stood at the under of the wild animal)

The only relational word which is not a bound morpheme in Maale is the comparative word **gudi** 'like'. This word might be considered as a postposition. **gudi** does not belong to the same syntactic category as the other independent relational nouns in that when it is used in predicative constructions, it needs a nominalizer, as in the following example:

29. **ʔíí** **zok'k'e d'éʔe faránje gudi-ya-ke**
 3MS:NOM red IDEO European like-NMZ-BE:A:DCL
 'He is very white like a European' (lit. He is red like a European')

Furthermore, as we have shown in Chapter Eight, **gudi** is used as a complementizer morpheme in complex sentences.

12.6 Focus and word order

In this section we discuss focus only in relation to word order. Detailed discussion of focus phenomenon is not attempted here. In Maale, focus in general is not morphologically marked. Contrastive focus, however, is marked by moving categories to the *unmarked focus position* or by way of a cleft construction; both of which alter word order patterns.

Concerning the first type, the unmarked focus position in Maale sentences is the position immediately preceding the verb. When a subject noun or any other argument noun is focused, this element is moved into the pre-verbal position, as the following examples demonstrate:

- 30a. **ʔíí** **laal-éll-ó-m** **d'eefa** **ʔing-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM woman-F-ABS-DAT medicine:ABS give-PF-A:DCL

ʔála **ʔing-ibá-se**
 beer:ABS give-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He gave MEDICINE to the woman. He did not give her beer'
- 30b. **laal-éll-ó-m** **d'eefa** **ʔíí** **ʔing-é-ne**
 woman-F-ABS-DAT medicine:ABS 3MS:NOM give-PF-A:DCL

hakúme **ʔing-ibá-se**
 doctor:NOM give-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'HE gave medicine to the woman. The doctor did not'
- 30c. **ʔíí** **d'eefa** **laal-éll-ó-m** **ʔing-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM medicine:ABS woman-F-ABS-DAT give-PF-A:DCL

táá-m **ʔing-ibá-se**
 1SG-DAT give-PF:NEG-N:DCL
 'He gave medicine TO THE WOMAN' (He did not give to me)

(Thus, some of the examples given in the previous sections, which involved non-object nouns before the verb involve focus.)

Among other Ethiopian languages, a similar situation can be observed, for example, in Amharic. In fact, Van Valin and Lapolla (1997: 209) state that this phenomenon is commonly attested in SOV languages.

Clefting is the most commonly used strategy in Maale. It is basically similar to the strategy shown above, in that it too involves word order variation. Consider the following examples:

- 31a. *Ŷizá-ke* *néná* *?ééll-é-tsi*
 3MS:ABS-BE:A:DCL 2SG:ABS call-PF-NMZ
 'It is him who called you'
- 31b. *néná-ke* *Ŷizi* *?ééll-é-tsi*
 2SG:ABS-BE:A:DCL 3MS:NOM call-PF-NMZ
 'It is you whom he called'
- 31c. *Ŷizi* *mukk-é-tsi* *ziginó* *t-uwá-se*
 3MS:NOM come-PF:REL-NMZ yesterday BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'It is not yesterday that he came'

As argued in the beginning of this chapter, Maale is basically an SOV language. If categories should occur immediately before the V in order to be focused, does that mean that O is focused in all instances of clauses with an SOV word order? If not, how do we know when object is focused and when it is not?

With regard to the first question we take the position that not all sentences with SOV order have focused object nouns. Such sentences could be focused or they could be neutral statements. A useful notion in this regard is what Givón (1990) calls the 'assertion scope'. According to this author (1990: 701-2):

With or without contrastive focus, a portion of most propositions ('clauses') tends to fall under **assertion scope**. Further, clauses in natural discourse tend to have, on the average, *one chunk* of asserted information per clause, while the rest of the information is not asserted. ...the chunk of information that falls under assertion scope is not necessarily under contrastive focus. When the asserted information is not in contrastive focus, we tend to consider the clause pattern *neutral*.

Sasse (1987) addresses a similar problem in various typologically different languages: the 'thetic' and 'categorical' sentence distinctions may be signalled by variation in intonation or other ways of focus marking. In the case of Maale in which no morphological or syntactic indication is given for sentences with SOV order in which the object noun is focused or not, intonation and/or context, i.e., what Sasse (1987) calls 'the background of expectation of the speech participants' seems to be crucial.

We have shown earlier in this chapter that word order in Maale is relatively flexible. The flexibility in word order is partly used for focus marking: for a category to be focused, it should occur in pre-verbal position in this language. As Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 213) state, this points to the adaptation of syntax and discourse structure to each other's demands:

If we compare English and Italian, in English, word order is very constrained and focus placement is very flexible, whereas in Italian word order is very flexible and focus placement is very constrained. This contrast could be characterized in terms of how syntax and focus structure adapt to each other: in English, the focus structure adapts to the rigidity of word order by allowing free focus placement ...whereas in Italian, the syntax adapts to the rigid focus structure by having constructions which allow focal elements which would normally be prenuclear to occur in a postnuclear position.

Word order and focus marking in Maale exhibit a situation similar to that reported for Italian: Maale is a language with flexible word order but restricted focus marking. Besides focus marking, word order variation in Maale involves other discourse-related phenomenon such as adding residual information, as the examples in sections 12.1 and 12.2 demonstrate.

CHAPTER 13

IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

This chapter deals with two related but distinct categories in Maale: ideophones and interjections. As Samarin (1965) has shown, traditionally, ideophones and interjections were not properly distinguished. In recent works, however, these two represent distinct classes. Ideophones are defined differently by various authors. Nevertheless, almost all of their definitions reflect in one way or another Doke's pioneering definition of the term as "a vivid expression of an idea in sound" (Doke 1935: 118). The term interjection is defined in Ameka (1994: 1712) as: "[w]ords which conventionally constitute utterances by themselves and express a speaker's current mental state or reaction towards an element in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context". Compared to the rest of the lexicon, ideophones and interjections in Maale share some properties in common. However, they are still distinct from each other in various ways, as will be shown in this chapter.

In Maale, ideophones and interjections are characterized by phonological, morphological or syntactic restrictions which do not affect other word classes. For instance, ideophones in Maale impose restrictions on the combination of back and front vowels (see 13.1 below); ideophones and interjections can not be directly affixed with inflectional and derivational morphemes. Semantically, ideophones and interjections are more expressive. That is, paraphrases of ideophones or interjections would not achieve the same communicative effect as that achieved by using the ideophone or interjection.

On the other hand, ideophones and interjections are distinct from each other. That is, interjections are typically syntactically independent since they may occur with or without accompanying sentences. Except for a few interjectional phrases which occur with fixed combinations of pronouns, interjections are not dependent on other categories. Ideophones, on the other hand, are completely dependent on other categories: they must occur in combination with verbs or adjectives. In the former case they are part of the predicate, and in the latter case they are part of a noun phrase and thus are syntactically more integrated into the grammar. Furthermore, ideophones in Maale denote 'actions or states' whereas interjections mainly express the mental state or the reaction of the speaker towards an action or an utterance.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 13.1 deals with the phonological, morphological and semantic characteristics of ideophones. In section 13.2, a description and classification of interjections and the context of their use is presented. A brief description of greetings and other interactional routines, which are expressed

partly by interjections and partly by formulaic words, are also included in this chapter (section 13.3).

13.1 Ideophones

Based on the constructions in which they occur, ideophones in Maale can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of a limited number of ideophones which only occur in combination with adjectives. We refer to these as 'intensifying ideophones'; and discuss them in detail in section 13.1.1 below. The second type, to which most of the ideophones recorded belong, is labelled here 'predicative ideophone'. Ideophones from this group mainly occur with the verbs *ge?*- 'say' with which they form the predicate (nucleus) of the sentence, and are discussed in section 13.1.2. However, first, an explanation of why we use the restrictive terms 'intensifying' and 'predicative' is in order.

Although ideophones in various languages are comparable in terms of their semantic characteristics of being 'expressive', 'sensual' and 'poetic' (cf. Samarin 1970, Noss 1986, to mention a few), they differ considerably in their syntactic status. For example, in Somali ideophones are nouns (Dhoorre and Tosco 1998); in Shona they are verbs (Fortune 1962); in Chichewa they are adjectives (Kumeleka 1992). For some languages, different authors propose a different word class. For example, according to Courtenay (1976) ideophones in Yoruba are verbs whereas Awoyale (1981) rejects this and claims that ideophones in this language constitute a separate word class.

In Maale, too, the syntactic category of ideophones is not clear-cut. Intensifying ideophones in Maale express the intensity of colour, size, shape, etc. which, otherwise are expressed through adjectives. However, these ideophones differ from adjectives in being syntactically dependent on other adjectives. Predicative ideophones are similar to prototypical verbs in denoting (eventive and stative) situations. However, we do not regard predicative ideophones as verbs because they need special marking in order to be affixed with verbal categories such as aspect and polarity. Furthermore, predicative ideophones typically include in their meaning attributive or qualificative properties of their arguments or various adverbial meanings, whereas such incorporation is rare with prototypical verbs.

13.1.1 *Intensifying ideophones*

Intensifying ideophones in Maale are few in number. As mentioned above, these ideophones occur in combination with adjectives. The order of occurrence is always: adjective + ideophone. Semantically, intensifying ideophones can be characterized in different ways. Some add precision to the meaning of the adjective with which they occur, as can be seen from the following example.

1. **garci hóboccu ʔasi ɗenk'-i ʔizó zálla ʔóóc'c'-é-ne**
 old IDEO person:ABS find-CNV₁ 3FS:ABS half ask-PF-A:DCL
 '(I) met a reliable elderly person and asked him about her'

Informants are unanimous and very specific about the interpretation of **garci hóboccu** in the above example: the person must be male, about fifty years of age, partly grey-haired and stout. **garci hóboccu** cannot be used to refer to a very old person and it does not refer to just any middle aged adult, for which there is a specific adjective: **dónza**. The ideophone and adjective combination in (1) expresses the impression of the speaker with regard to the appearance and character of the person in question.

In some cases intensifying ideophones augment or exaggerate the meaning of the adjective:

- 2a. **waas'-á Jimme ɗíc'c'i-ke**
 water-NOM cold IDEO-BE:A:DCL
 'The water is very very cold'
- 2b. **ʔizi zok'k'e ɗéʔʔe faránje gudi-ya-ke**
 3MS:NOM red IDEO european like-NMZ-BE:A:DCL
 'He is very white like a European' (lit, 'He is very red like a European')

The adjective + ideophone combination shown above form compound adjectives. The possibility that the combination represents a phrase is ruled out for the following reasons. Firstly, there is a problem of determining whether the ideophone or the adjective is the head of the phrase. If the adjective is taken to be the head of the phrase, we find that the adjective *obligatorily* occurs in a non-canonical position for heads of an adjectival phrase (compare: **koffi boore** 'very white' in which the head **boore** occurs on the right-hand side). While the basic (modifier-head) word order in other phrases might be altered, the order of adjectives and ideophones in the above examples cannot. On the other hand, treating the ideophones in (1-2) above as heads of their respective phrases is not semantically plausible since in each of the examples above, the phrase seems to be a projection of the adjective, not of the ideophone. Furthermore, the combination is lexically determined; for example the ideophone **ɗéʔʔe** can only be combined with the adjective **zok'k'e** 'red' and its meaning includes lightness of colour and/or intensity of heat. In contrast to **zok'k'e ɗéʔʔe**, **súgutsi zok'k'e** 'bright red' with the combination of **súgutsi** 'blood' and **zok'k'e** 'red' lacks a collocational meaning. Also **dínki zok'k'e** 'dark red' is non-collocational (the meaning of **dínki** is not known to my informants). The fact that, compared to predicative ideophones, the intensifying ideophones are few in number suggests that they form a closed class of non-productive endocentric and exocentric compounds. An example is given in (3) below, in which the same adjective (**boore** 'white') expresses totally different meanings when combined with different ideophones:

- 3a. **boore buk'úk'k'u**
 white IDEO
 'group of black spotted white cattle or several people with white shawls seen from distance (the contrast of black hair and white shawl is important here)'
- 3b. **boore píŋfi**
 white IDEO
 'one who unexpectedly became very poor'

13.1.2 *Predicative ideophones*

Ideophones in this group mainly occur with the 'verb' **geʔ-** 'say' with which they form the predicate of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

4. **kóc'c'-á ʃóófi gel-i láh-andá gudi**
 wall:DF-NOM snake:NOMenter-CNV₁ lie_down-F:IPF:REL like
korʔúkórʔu geʔ-é-ne
 IDEO say-PF-A:DCL
 'The wall of the house got so old that a snake can easily get into it'

In the above example, the verb in the main clause is **geʔ-** 'say'. However, the sentence does not refer to the act of speaking. The verb **geʔ-** 'say' here serves as a verbalizing element allowing the ideophone to be marked with verbal inflection, such as aspect and polarity. For some languages, the fact that ideophones do not take inflectional categories and always need an accompanying verb is used as an argument for not treating ideophones as verbs. However, in Maale ideophones are not unique in not taking aspect and polarity markers directly. Converbs cannot be inflected for aspect, polarity or illocutionary force markers either; they depend on the main verb for these categories. Furthermore, although ideophones cannot be fully equated to proto-typical verbs or even to converbs, they nevertheless express situations. In this latter function, ideophonic predicates are special in that often they incorporate verbal and adverbial expressions. In the following utterance for instance, both the fact that the water runs (on the sand) and the manner in which it runs, are expressed by the ideophone.

5. **waas'-á maafállá-idda s'álbábabb gaʔ-áza**
 water-NOM sand-LOC IDEO say-TEMP₁
 'When the water runs quietly on the sand, ...'

As Newman (1968: 107) states, ideophones are typically phonologically peculiar. In Maale, the phonological peculiarity of ideophones includes the possibility of ending in single or geminate consonants, as in example (5) above. Non-ideophonic words always end in vowels (for further examples of consonant-final ideophones, see below). Formally, predicative ideophones can be further divided into two types: those

involving full or partial reduplication and non-reduplicated ideophones. The non-reduplicated base form does not have a distinct meaning. Example (6a) and (6b) below illustrate, respectively, full and partially reduplicated ideophones:

- 6a. **ʔííní k'irrik'irri geʔ-í mukk-á-ne**
 3MS:NOM IDEO say-CNV₁ come-PF-A:DCL
 'He comes every day'
- 6b. **né ʔaigóro zorɓoɓoɓu geʔ-á-y**
 2SG:NOM why IDEO say-IPF-Q
 'Why are you so lazy and sleepy?'

The following sentences illustrate the use of non-reduplicated predicative ideophones. These are typically monosyllabic or disyllabic.

- 7a. **naʔʔ-á ʔééll-its ʔárk'-áza gins'-aa**
 child:DF-NOM call-INF hold-TEMP₁ behind-LOC
ʔeebí kúttu geʔ-é-ne
 something:NOM IDEO say-PF-A:DCL
 'When the boy started calling out (for help), something heavy fell behind him.'
- 7b. **hírc' geʔ-í hant-é**
 IDEO say-CNV₁ walk-2SG:IMP
 'Be alert on the way!'

As can be seen from the examples in (4-7), polysyllabic predicative ideophones contain sequences of identical vowels, except that the mid vowels *e* and *o* are raised in open final syllables. Exceptions to this are **duráh geʔ-** 'stand up suddenly and run' and **díilíó geʔ-** 'be very quiet'; the latter has an alternative expression: **díilidíili geʔ-** 'be very quiet'. (See also the list of ideophones in 9 below.)

13.1.3 Ideophones, sound symbolism and iconicity

Ideophones with high vowels (*i* and *u*) are often associated with lightness, smallness, or fast speed, whereas those with non-high vowels (*e* and *o*) are associated with heaviness, bigness, or slowness, as example (8) below illustrates. Tone distribution seems also to affect meaning. However, this has not been studied in detail. Notice also that the vowels in these examples have the same value for the feature front or back.

8. **nóʔócnóʔóe geʔ** 'walk, of a short and stout person; of a big baboon'
níʔicníʔic geʔ- 'walk, of a short and thin person, walk in small steps'
lúkkúlúkkú geʔ- 'walk fast with small steps'

- dókókku ge?- 'move away slowly, of big animal, e.g. a buffalo'
 dukúkku ge?- 'move away slowly, of small animal, e.g. a rabbit'
 dólóc' ge?- 'fall in water, of something big'
 k'ulbúc' ge?- 'fall in water, of something small'
 k'oos'úk'óós'u ge?- 'squat, of a tall and stout person'
 kuus'úkúús'u ge? 'squat, of a small person'

Disyllabic predicative ideophones (without reduplication) have either a CVCC(V) or a CVVCCV structure. Interestingly, this phonological shape involves semantic iconicity in that ideophones with CVCC(V) structure express momentary states or unexpected situations, whereas those with CVVCCV express durational states (examples with CVVCCV structure are limited in number). These are illustrated in (9a) and (9b) respectively:

- 9a. zíns'i ge?- 'fall, of sth. larger on a small object, or on a small place'
 kúttu ge?- 'fall, of something dry'
 túls'u ge?- 'fall, of something small by escaping from the hand'
 pód'fdu or mód'fdu 'fall, of something wet and heavy'
 9b. pééʔʔi ge?- 'be very hot of pepper'
 d'óóc'c'u ge?- 'be very cold of drinks, food, or of a house without fire'
 mééʔʔi ge?- 'be very hot and reddish, of fire flame, or heated iron'
 (d'ééʔʔi ge?- 'be very hot and reddish, of fire flame, or heated iron')

13.1.4 Ideophones and derivation

Predicative ideophones discussed so far are intransitive. These can be transitivized by adding the causative suffix to their accompanying verb *geʔ-* 'say' as in (10) below.

10. *néná ʔaigé póns'úpóns'ú geʔ-is-á-y*
 2SG:ABS what:NOM IDEO say-CAUS-IPF-Q
 'What makes you so emotional and disagreeable?'

Furthermore, by dropping the verb *geʔ-* 'say' (which, when combined with ideophones, always yields intransitive ideophonic verbs) and by suffixing the ideophone with *-idd-*, a transitive ideophonic verb is derived. When *-idd-* is attached to an ideophone, the original ideophone is shortened. For example, from *poddúpóddu geʔ-* 'to tear unexpectedly' the verb *poddidd-* 'tear something unexpectedly' is formed which can occur without the dummy verb *geʔ-* 'say' and which can take verbal inflection directly is formed, as in (11) below.

11. *kan-z-í taa-kó maaʔ-ó podd-idd-é-ne*
 dog-DF-NOM 1SG:GEN-GEN cloth-ABS IDEO-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog bit off my cloth'

The morphological status of **-idd-** is not fully understood. Typically, ideophones affixed with **-idd-** are transitive. Consider the following minimal-pair sentences:

- 12a. **ʔizi zitti geʔ-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM IDEO say-PF-A:DCL
 'He kept quiet'
- 12b. **ʔizi laal-éll-ó zitt-idd-é-ne**
 3MS:NOM woman-F-ABS IDEO-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
 'He made the woman keep quiet'

Other ideophonic verbs taking **-idd-** include:

- tíwʃ-idd-** 'shoot and hit target'
ɖanc-idd- 'hit hard with a stick and leave the victim unconscious'
zins'-idd- 'drop a big and heavy object on a small object or in a small place'

(We have recorded the intransitive counterpart only for the last ideophone: **zins'í geʔ-** 'fall, of something large on a small object or in a small place'.)

It seems that **-idd-** is a verbalizing suffix with the meaning 'make' or 'do like'. Elsewhere, a similar form occurs in expressions such as **wóddí** 'how?' (lit. having done what?) which consists of the bound question word **wo-**, **-idd-** (with deletion of **-i**) and the converb form **-í** (for details, see Chapter Ten), **híddí** 'having done like this' which involves the demonstrative **ha-** 'this', **-idd-** and the converb **-í**; **híddéto** 'if (one) does like this' from the demonstrative **ha-**, the verbalizer **ídd-**, the Perfective aspect marker **-é** and the conditional suffix **-to**. Also: **ha-mma-idd-é** 'be/do like this' with the demonstrative **ha-**, the diminutive marker **-mma**, the verbalizer **-idd-** and the second person singular imperative **-é**. In all these cases **-idd-** involves manner.

A few ideophones are recorded with two alternative forms, apparently without any meaning difference. For example, **jeemjeem geʔ-** can be replaced by **jeemm-ínk'** - which is formed by attaching the suffix **-ínk'** - to part of the ideophone; both have the meaning: 'to move around nervously, of one who has lost direction'. The only difference between these two is that ideophones with **-ínk'** - can directly take inflectional suffixes. Compare the following two sentences:

- 13a. **méhh-ó baakk-aa jeemjeem geʔ-íppo**
 goods-ABS middle-LOC IDEO say-2SG:NEG:IMP
 'Do not walk around in the middle of the goods as someone who has lost direction!'
- 13b. **méhh-ó baakk-aa jeemm-ínk'-íppo**
 goods-ABS middle-LOC IDEO-VBZ-2SG:NEG:IMP
 'Do not walk around in the middle of the goods as someone who has lost direction!'

Unlike **-idd-**, the verbalizer **-ink'** is not widely attested elsewhere: we find a similar form only in one of the few manner adverbs found in the language: **?erink'o** 'purposely' which contains the verb root **?er-** 'know', **-ink'** and (the Absolutive marker **?**) **-o**. However, it should be remembered that by virtue of their function (i.e., expressing situations) we consider ideophones with **-idd-**, **-ink'**, as well as those which co-occur with **ge?** 'say' as predicative ideophones.

There are a few examples showing that qualificative adjectives may be derived from ideophones. Compare (14a-b) with (14c-d):

- 14a. **tenkitenki ge?** / **tenk-ink'**
'stagger, especially of a tall person'
- 14b. **teemteem ge?** / **teemm-ink'**
'móve absent-minded; look but fail to notice'
- 14c. **tonkímáile**
'one who walks staggering like a drunkard'
- 14d. **telemba**
'a moron; one who moves around absent-minded'

The forms in (14c-d) above occur in the adjective slot in noun phrases, as in **tonkímáile ?asi** 'a person who walks staggering like a drunkard' and in non-verbal sentences with the declarative mood marker **-ke** as in, **?atsí telémbá-ke** 'the man is a moron'. Notice that in the examples in (14), the derived adjectives are not identical to the base ideophones. Whether all predicative ideophones have a corresponding adjectival form is not known. However, the data in (14) suggest that ideophones might contribute to the expansion of the category of adjectives.

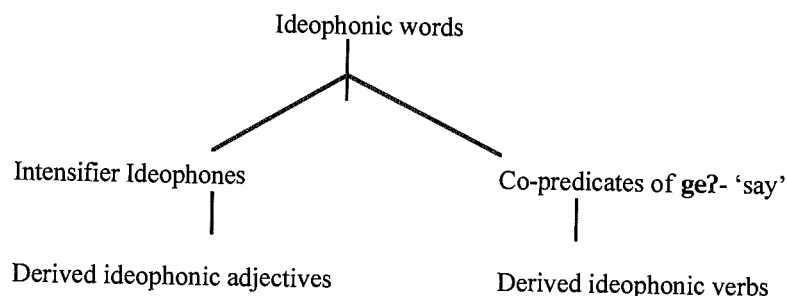
Predicative ideophones can be used in a non-eventive/descriptive expression. In this case the predicative ideophone is a nominalized relative clause, as in the following examples:

- 15a. **?izá-ko ?áápp-á molzúmólzu ge?-á-ya-ke**
3MS:ABS-GEN eye:PL-NOM IDEO say-IPF:REL-NMZ-BE:A:DCL
'His eyes are very big and shiny' (lit. his eyes are ones which say **molzúmólzu**)
- 15b. **?izá-ko tookk-á monkúmónku ge?-á-ya-ke**
3MS:ABS-GEN head-NOM IDEO say-IPF:REL-NMZ-BE:A:DCL
'His head is very big' (lit. His head is one which says **monkúmónku**)

The following list contains the rest of predicative ideophones in our data-base. The list is divided into three parts: non-reduplicated (16a), fully reduplicated (16b) and partially reduplicated predicative ideophones (16c). The last group is relatively small.

- 16a. libík' ge?- 'die quickly and unexpectedly, e.g. due to suffocation'
 láʔʔa ge?- 'stand up suddenly and angrily'
 duráh ge?- 'stand up suddenly and run'
 hírc' ge?- 'be alert and careful in dangerous circumstances'
 sírs' ge?- 'be completely full (unexpectedly), e.g. river'
 mélék'k' ge?- 'sparkle'
 líww ge?- 'pass by quickly, e.g. a car passing by one's side forcing one to lose one's balance'
- 16b. sílʔisílʔi ge? 'walk, of a slim person'
 solʔusolʔu ge? 'walk, of a tall person'
 c'oppúc'óppu ge?- 'rain continuously and lightly '
 bolsúbólsu ge? 'look very embarrassed'
 mengiméngi 'lose memory, be bald (of hair), be empty/cleared (of forest)'
 kencíkénci ge?- 'stick to, of porridge to the pan'
 ponʔúpónu wot- 'scoop up too much and too fast by hand'
 wúc'c'wúc'c' ge?- 'run fast and disappear from sight'
 hempíhémpi ge?- 'feel soft and squashy'
 bólʔubólʔu ge?- 'be lukewarm (of liquids)'
 molzúmólʔu ge?- 'be big, of eyes'
 k'oppúk'óppu ge?- 'be big, of chick'
 k'eggík'éggi ge?- 'be big, of ear'
 porʔúpórʔu ge?- 'be big, of belly'
 derc'idérc'i ge?- 'be tall and stout'
 keʔʔíkéʔʔi ge?- 'be very dry and strong'
 wúc'wúc' ge?- 'glitter'
 ʒóʔʔúʒóʔʔu ge?- 'shine'
 diilʔidiili ge?- 'be very quiet; be completely dark'
 (diilʔio ge?- 'be very quiet')
- 16c. s'ánánán ge?- 'water or blood spilling in an oozing manner'
 s'árárár ge? 'sudden pain in the body'
 púpúnk'u ge?- 'fall, of something big'
 sálmámám ge?- 'movement of snake'
 s'ilili ge?- or 'be very clean (of water)'
 (s'alall ge?- 'be very clean (of water)')

Based on the above data we conclude that the ideophone in Maale forms a distinct word class. Its internal sub-division can be summarized as follows:



13.2 Interjections

Using communicative function as the criterion for subdivision, Ameka (1992, 1994) identifies three basic types of interjections, each with its own subtype: a) 'expressive interjections' which are indicative of the speaker's mental state, b) 'conative interjections' which are directed at an auditor, e.g. interjections that are used to get someone's attention, demand an action or response from someone; and, c) 'phatic interjections', used in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact. The latter include feedback signalling vocalisations and various interactional routines. This three-way division is useful to categorise Maale interjections into basic types. However, there are some interjections which may belong to more than one group. For instance, some expressive interjections may be regarded as phatic interjections and vice versa. Concerning the issue of categorisation of interjections Ameka (1992: 114) states that: "[a] particular item may have multiple functions and hence multiple categorisation." Thus, the division of Maale interjections into the three groups does not mean that group membership is exclusive. Below, each of the three interjection types are discussed in turn.

13.2.1 Expressive interjections

Expressive interjections in Maale include interjections which express the speaker's emotions or sensations at the time of utterance. Below, a description and an approximate translation into English are given. Possible contexts for the use of each interjection are indicated. However, considering the psychological factors involved in the use of interjections, we do not claim that the contexts stated here are the only ones in which the interjections are used.

17. ʔáʔʔa 'I think something bad is going to happen'.

This may be used, for example, when one sees something or somebody falling.

18. ʃáha 'I am disgusted by what you said and I hate to see you around me'

The above form looks similar to the verb root ʃah- 'uproot, destroy'.

19. **ká** 'I am impressed by what I hear/see'

This interjection expresses surprise and admiration. It may be immediately followed by a sentence, in which case the verb will take a special emphatic ending rather than the simple declarative ending (cf. Chapter Seven). Another frequently used form of the verb with this interjection involves the negative intensive verb. With **ká** the negative intensive verb does not deny a proposition or a quality but instead emphasizes that the proposition or quality talked about is beyond what one would ordinarily expect. Consider the following example:

20. **ká** **ʔatsí** **kókórg-úʔʔa**
 INTJ person:M:NOM RDP:dance-E:NEG
 'Oh, how good does the man dance!'

Finally, we have the following expressive interjectional phrase:

21. **táná** **badíle**
 1SG:ABS INTJ
 'I am frightened and helpless, I don't know what to do in this situation'

There is another interjectional phrase: **ʃáʔʔa táná** which expresses the same meaning as the phrase shown in (21 above). Both express despair. For example, when faced with an imminent danger (which may involve people other than the speaker) one would say: **táná badíle** or **ʃáʔʔa táná**. Notice that the order of the interjection and the pronoun in these two forms is different. These two interjections do not occur with other pronouns.

13.2.2 *Conative interjections*

Conative interjections in Maale can be subdivided into four types. The first group consists of responses to calls, namely, **yóó** and **wóy**. Men can use either of these forms as a response to a call made by a man or a woman. Women on the other hand, respond to a call with **wóy**. It is inappropriate for a woman to respond to a call made by an adult male using **yóó**. (It is said that if a woman responds to her husband's call using **yóó**, she is initiating a quarrel). The call can be made by mentioning one's proper name or by conventionalized titles such as 'the mother of so and so' or by vocative pronouns **ʔenááre** 'you (2FS)!' and **ʔéézzay** 'you (2MS)!'. A reduplicated form of **yóó** is used to comfort a crying baby. It is possible that factors other than gender, e.g. social factors such as age and status, may play a role in the choice of the response to calls. Unfortunately, information on this is not available.

The second type of conative interjections include those which demand an action from the hearer. Examples:

22. **c'ákkú** 'I want you to stop what you are doing/saying!' ('stop!')
hínda 'I challenge you to do what I say'.

The interjection **hinda** can be used for threatening.

In the third group we have the following two 'presentational interjections'. These can be described as 'I want you to take this thing I am holding out to you now' (cf. Ameka 1994: 1713).

23. **habó** said when giving somebody something, e.g. coffee, food or money
habóte said when giving something to be used or consumed by several people or to a single person if one wants to address this person in a polite manner.

Finally, the fourth type of conative interjections includes calls made to animals.

24. **ḃóḃ ḃóḃ** 'call to cows/oxen' (cf. **bayi** 'cow/cattle', **gémayi** 'ox')
wúruú wúruú 'call to goats' (cf. **waari** 'goat')
lúkkú lúkkú 'call to chicken' (cf. **koida** 'chicken')
wurrée wurrée 'call to cats' (cf. **bawwi** or **wurri** 'cat')
baccírírí 'call to get chicken into their nest'

The call to sheep is special in that, unlike the calls shown above, it is followed by the noun **marayi** 'sheep' which may be reduplicated two or more times:

25. **báá marayi marayi**
 INTJ sheep:ABS sheep:ABS
 call to sheep

In contrast to the calls made to summon animals (cf. examples in 24-25 above), different forms are used to 'disperse' them:

26. **ʔáy ʔáy** to chase away cattle (cow/oxen)
héyi kéyi to chase away goats
káci or kici to chase away cats
cúkkú cúkkú to disperse chicken
héc prrr to disperse birds

Interestingly, to chase away cats, other than **káci** or **kici** which are listed above, a non-interjectional form: **ʃikkíbéy** 'move aside!' may be used. It consists of the verb root **ʃikk-** 'move side ways to make room' and the impolite imperative marker **-ibéy** (cf. Chapter Five).

13.2.3 *Phatic interjections*

Phatic interjections in Maale include various vocalisations which are uttered while listening to somebody's speech. They express the speaker's reaction to an ongoing speech. These may be realized with 'co-utterances', i.e., they may be immediately followed by question forms or statements with regard to the utterance of the preceding speaker.

27. **ʔééka** 'okay!'

The above interjection is uttered as feedback in longer speeches in order to express the idea that the person who utters this interjection gives full attention to the speech being made and to encourage the speaker to continue. **ʔééka** may also be said while talking to a visitor or to a family member who has just returned from a journey. After every 'good' or 'satisfactory' response to questions related to the health of relatives, good harvest, abundant rain, etc. in the place(s) where the traveller came from, one repeats **ʔééka** meaning something like 'I am happy with what you said'. In the latter usage, **ʔééka** expresses the speaker's mental state and can be viewed as belonging to expressive interjections. As mentioned above, depending on the communicative context and the intention of the speaker, the same interjection may have different functions. **ʔééka** is also used as a welcoming expression (see below).

28. **ʔá** 'I don't believe what you said and if it is true, I don't like it'.

This interjection is preceded by **ʔéézzo** when the reaction is expressed to a man and it is preceded by **ʔéna** if the reaction is made to a woman. When the reaction is directed to other participants (male or female) in the speech event as well, **ʔá** is preceded by **ʔéézzáto**. It should be remembered that **ʔéézzo** and **ʔéna** are similar to the second person masculine and feminine vocative forms **ʔéézzay** and **ʔenááre** respectively. Thus, the interjection **ʔá** occurs in fixed combination with categories identifying the gender or number of the speech participant(s). Consider the following examples:

29a. **ʔéézzo ʔá ʔízi woi-t-é-tsi-ro túkk-int-á-y**
 2MS:INTJ INTJ 3MS:NOM Q-BE-PF-NMZ-REAS tie-PAS-IPF-Q
 'Oh you (2MS), why should he be imprisoned?'

29b. **ʔéna ʔá né hagi máári lóʔ-í**
 2MS:INTJ INTJ 2SG:NOM yet house:ABS go_up-CNV₁
work'-andá-mó
 spend night-F:IPF-RHT:Q
 'Oh! Will you still go up to your home to sleep (at this late hour)?'

káci and **káfi** are alternatively used to express a reaction when one is told bad news, e.g. when told about a death of a relative or friend.

30. **káci / káfi** 'I don't want to hear what you are saying'

The interjection **s'áʔʔa** 'I am annoyed by what you said' is often said by interrupting someone's speech. Among intimate friends, **s'áʔʔa** can also be used as a joking disapproval of one's statement. The following is an example:

31. s'á??a háya-andá-tsi táá-m bérta keezz-úwá-y
 INTJ this:ABS-F:IPF-NMZ 1SG:ABS-DAT infront tell-IPF:NEG-Q
 'Ugh! Shouldn't you have told me earlier that it will be like this?'

The interjection *máddá* 'I do not care how you judge me or how bad you think of me!' might be said in response to a reproach or accusation. For example, as a response to an accusation about hiding a ball so that his friends could not play while he was away, the accused reacted by saying:

32. *máddá ?ekk-é-ne*
 INTJ take-PF-A:DCL
 'So what? (I) took it!'

The following two swearing interjections are recorded: *fárró* 'never again!' which is mainly used by men; *zókko* 'never again!' which is used by women. The latter is considered to be weaker than *fárró*.

- 33a. *fárró lam?-átso háya gude baazzi*
 INTJ two-ORD this:ABS like thing:ABS
 'Never again (will I do) such a thing!'
- 33b. *zókko táání kaamm-á??a*
 INTJ 1SG:NOM meet-N:DCL
 'I will never meet (them) again!'

Interjections are generally regarded as forms which are morphologically invariable. This holds true for Maale too: the interjections shown in the previous sections form utterances. But they do not take any of the illocutionary force markers (cf. Chapter Seven). Neither are derivational or inflectional affixes added to them. However, the lexical form of interjections in this language may vary depending on the gender of the speaker (e.g. the swearing terms in example 26, and responses to calls) or the gender or number of the addressee (e.g. the presentational forms in 13.2.2 and phatic interjections 13.2.3).

13.3 Greetings and leave-taking expressions

Interactional routines such as greetings and leave-taking expressions are often treated as sub-types of phatic interjections. Generally, in Maale, greeting and leave-taking expressions are not interjections. Perhaps an exception could be the greeting term *bée* which is exchanged between 'non-blood relatives' or *lifetime* friends (i.e., people who have entered into a specially close friendship through elaborate rituals and exchange of special gifts). Such people greet each other as illustrated in the following example:

34. **ta béélli bée**
 1SG:GEN friend INTJ
 'My friend, I greet you!'

The response to the above greeting is: **bée**:

Other greetings and leave-taking expressions in Maale involve conventionalized formulae. Unlike some of the south-west Ethiopian speech communities in which silence is part of the conventionalized system of establishing contact (cf. Dimmendaal 1999), in Maale one has to announce one's arrival or that one is leaving which is then followed by exchange of verbally elaborate greeting or leave-taking utterances. When a visitor approaches the house of his hosts, she/he calls attention to her/himself by saying **mááró ?asó ?así mukkáne** 'People of the house, a person has come!' the welcoming response is **k'áraway** or **k'árake** 'It is very good!'. The welcoming response can also be expressed by using the phatic interjection **?ééka** 'Okay!, I am happy with what you said!'. After this, various greeting expressions (typically involving interrogative sentences) may be used. Consider the following exchange between two speakers.

35. A: **máár-ó ?as-ó ?así mukk-á-ne**
 house-ABS person:PL-VOC person:NOM come-IPF-A:DCL
 'People of the house! a person is coming'
- B: **k'ára-way**
 good-E:DCL
 'Welcome!'
- A: **kófi péék'-íya**
 good spend the day-PF:Q
 '(Did you) spend the day good?'
- B: **kófi-ke néení kófi péék'-íya**
 good-BE:A:DCL 2SG:NOM good spend the day-PF:Q
 'Good. Did you spend the day well?'
- A: **kófi-ke**
 good-BE:A:DCL
 'Good!'

The verb **péék'** - 'spend the day' is used for daytime and evening greeting. In the morning, the verb **work'** - 'spend the night' is used. For greeting somebody whom one did not see for a long time the verb **dé?** - 'sit' is used. **k'ara** in the context of welcoming (see above) is interpreted as 'very good'; however, this word is not used as an attributive adjective. For this, **kófi** 'good' may be used as in, **kófi ?asi** 'good person'. **kófi** may also be used as an adverb, as can be seen from the second utterance of speaker A in the above extract. The verb **?ééll** - 'call' may be used as a

greeting form in a special context. For example, when a younger person or somebody with a lower social status joins a group of older or respected adults, he does not normally take the initiative to greet them. Instead, one of the elderly will say:

36. tá néná ʔééll-á-ne
 1SG:NOM 2SG:ABS call-IPF-A:DCL
 'I call you!'

A person so addressed may respond by saying the usual greeting forms, e.g. ʔintsi kóʃi péék'k'-íya 'Did you (2PL or POL) spend the day good?'. After this, the same exchange as described above will continue.

Leave-taking is expressed in Maale by using imperative sentences, as illustrated below:

- 37a. kóʃi- péék'k'-é 'Have a good day!'
 good spend the day-2SG:IMP
- 37b. kóʃi péék'k'-uwáte 'Have a good day!'
 good spend the day-2PL:IMP
- 37c. kóʃi déʔ-é 'Stay well!'
 good sit-2SG:IMP

TEXTS

In this section three texts are presented. The first is a descriptive text of one Maale ritual, known as **dami** or **dami kaafi**, which involves a ceremonial re-burial or mourning ritual that enables children to rightfully succeed their father and inherit property. The word **dami** refers to the entire sequence of events related to the re-burial; **kaafi** means 'ritual'. The **dami** may take place months or years after the deceased has been physically buried (depending on the economic situation of the family, particularly of the eldest son, who is responsible for its organization). It is believed that the deceased's spirit should be appeased by giving it the necessary respect through the killing of a number of cattle¹, and asking for its "blessing", thus allowing the surviving family to lead a healthy and prosperous life.

The second text, entitled "Frog, where are you?" is based on a well-known picture book story, written by Mercer Mayer and published by Dial Books for Young Readers. It is used by linguists working on spatial cognition in different languages. This text will be relevant for comparative purposes, especially on spatial expressions and motion verbs. The picture book was presented to three speakers. Each speaker gave a slightly different version of the story. One of the three versions recorded is presented here.

The third text presents a short extract from a conversation between two women (one Maale speaker and an outsider asking about customs related to marriage and child birth). Although in Maale there is no stylistic difference between men's and women's speech, this text is chosen to include a sample recorded from the latter.

These texts are meant to be used as source material for further linguistic research. Since most of the data presented in support of our analysis of the grammar involve short sentences (from elicited and spontaneous speech), the texts provide connected speech which helps to assess the analysis. Discourse and pragmatic phenomena in Maale are not thoroughly dealt with in this study. However, as Dimmendaal (2000, among others) emphasizes, texts are important for the understanding of these two aspects of grammar. Accordingly, I believe that the texts will be useful for future study on these topics in Maale.

¹ When asked if everybody could afford this expensive ritual, the speaker explained that the number of cattle sacrificed can be reduced by substituting some of them with the fruit of *solanum* spp. (known in English as 'Indian night shade' or 'sodom apple'). Interestingly, this custom of symbolic substitution resembles the ox - wild cucumber sacrifice among the Nilotic-speaking Nuer (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1956: 146, 205) and Pãri (Kurimoto 1992).

The free translation is made to reflect the original structure, i.e. we used one sentence where Maale uses one sentence, even though occasionally this creates stylistically awkward English sentences.

Text 1 dami kaafi

Speaker: Ligo Kemokosha Guuzze; Age: 47; Recorded on March 22, 1998.

ʒiffi maallé-ko dämmá hááǵǵi-ke

O.k. Maale-GEN DAMI like this-BE:A:DCL

'Well, the Maale Dami is like this'

bért-áǵ-í 3o-atsí-na geett-atsí-na

in front-VB-CNV₁ diviner-M-ABS-INST ritual officiator-M-ABS-INST

haissó ʔádó-na wolla buk-ínt-í pétte laali

speech father-INST together gather-RECP-CNV₁ one woman:ABS

gidda ʔekk-í dǵngǵasí wolla wúlʃa wúlʃ-á-ne

inside take-CNV₁ five person together canopy:ABS make canopy-IPF-A:DCL

'First, the diviner, the family's ritual officiator and the family's ritual advisor get together and taking a woman among them, these five people (i.e., including the eldest son) build a canopy'

wúlʃ-ó démm-a déʔ-í gapá gins'-ó-idda-ppa kúcci

canopy-ABS under-LOC sit-CNV₁ finish behind-ABS-LOC-ABL hand:ABS

túkk-á-ne

tie-IPF-A:DCL

'Having sat down under the canopy, they decide on the day of the ritual'²

3o-atsí 3ook'k'-áʔʔo dämm-á dämm-ínt-andá gudiya

diviner-M-NOM divine-CNV₂ DAMI-NOM DAMI-PAS-F:IPF COMP

kóʃi-ke ʔeebí bá-se

good-BE:A:DCL something:NOM exist_not-N:DCL

² kúcci túkkitsi, literally meaning 'tying a hand', refers to the custom of deciding on the date of an important event by making as many knots of a rope as the number of days between the day on which the decision is made and that on which the important event is supposed to take place. If, for example, the event is to occur on the thirtieth day from the date of the meeting, a rope with thirty knots would be sent to each relative. The receiver unties one knot every day; the date on which the final knot is to be untied is when the receiver is expected to arrive at the place arranged for the appointment.

geʔ-é-s-ʔa-ppa kúcci túkk-á-ne
say-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL hand:ABS tie-IPF-A:DCL

'After the diviner concludes the divination and says "All is good. There is nothing (bad preventing the ritual from taking place)", they then decide on the date'

kúc'-éll-ó túkk-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔas-á buk-ínt-andá
hand-F-ABS tie-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL person-PL:NOM gather-RECP-F:IPF:REL

k'ane ments-á-ne
day:ABS break-IPF-A:DCL

'After having decided on the date of the ritual, they decide on the date on which people attending the ritual should come'

púúpp-ó púúpp-ó ʔas-ó-m kúc'-o túkk-i gapá
big-DF big-DF person-PL.ABS-DAT hand-ABS tie-CNV₁ finish

kess-i ʔábbó-ntsi-m dákk-á-ne
take out-CNV₁ uncle-DF:PL-ABS-DAT send-IPF-A:DCL

'Having decided on the date, (they) send out the message to important people (and) to their uncles'

ʔábbó-ntsi buk-ínt-í dorba foʔ-ínt-í
uncle-DF.PL-NOM gather-RECP-CNV₁ drum:ABS beat-RECP-CNV₁

mukk-andá gudiya kúc'-ó túkk-i dákk-áza yénn-ó k'ánn-ó-na
come-F:IPF COMP hand-ABS tie-CNV₁ send-TEMP₁ that-ABS date-ABS-INST

ʔábbó-ntsi muk-k-í gapá dorba foʔ-ínt-í
M.uncle-DF.PL-NOM come-CNV₁ finish drum beat-RECP-CNV₁

foʔ-ínt-í muk-k-á-ne
beat-RECP-CNV₁ come-IPF-A:DCL

'After the message (about the appointment) is sent out so that the uncles get together and come beating drums, on the fixed day, the uncles come and they enter (the compound) beating drums'

bért-ádf-í dámmá gel-andá-tsi-ko bértá wánt-éll-ó
in front-VBZ-CNV₁ DAMI:NOM enter-F:IPF-NMZ-GEN in front night before-F-ABS

wudur-ó gel-z-á-ne
in-laws-ABS enter-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL

³ The word **wuduro** is distinct from **wudúro** 'girl'. According to my informants the former (i.e. **wuduro**) is a collective term which refers to one's daughter(s) and son(s)-in-law. In his word list, Donham translates this word as 'taboo relatives'.

'Earlier, the night before the ceremony, they let the daughters' husbands into the into the house (i.e., daughters of the deceased or daughters of the eldest son who is organizing the ceremony)'

wudur-á bérta míf-éll-ó-idda-ppa ʔárk'-áʔʔó
inlaws-NOM in front eldest sisiter-F-ABS-LOC-ABL hold-CNV₂

dend-í gápíns'-ó wudur-ó naʔʔ-ó hell-and-áána (bíá-tsí
go-CNV₁ last-ABS girl-ABS child-ABS reach-F:IPF-TEMP₂ all-PL:NOM

gel-á-ne

enter-IPF-A:DCL

'The daughters (and their husbands), starting from the eldest up to the youngest, they all enter the house'

gel-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔád-ó yer'k'-á-ne
enter-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL father-ABS kiss-IPF-A:DCL

'After they enter, (they) kiss the father (i.e., their eldest brother)'

ʔád-ó yer'k'-í yer'k'-í gap-é-s-ʔa-ppa gintsa karr-ó-na
father-ABS kiss-CNV₁ kiss-CNV₁ finish-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL behind door-ABS-
INST

wudur-ó na-att-ó zúll-ó kess-á-ne
in-laws-PL:ABS child-PL-ABS outside-ABS take out-IPF-A:DCL

'After they have kissed the father, the daughters and their husbands are made to go outside'

zúll-a kesʔ-í gapá ʔiyátá kótsi korg-á-ne
outside-LOC go out-CNV₁ finish 3PL:NOM dance:ABS dance-IPF-A:DCL
'After going outside they dance'

kós'-éll-ó korg-í ʔii-ka ʔiyátá wórk'-á-ne
dance-F-ABS dance-CNV₁ there-LOC 3PL:NOM spend the night-IPF-A:DCL
'Having danced, they spend the night there (i.e., outside)'

máára ʔádé gintsa fir-í dón'go ʔasó-ntsi-na
house father:NOM behind turn-CNV₁ five person-DF:PL:ABS-INST

wolla bookk-í náábo geʔ-í ʔóti deʔ-its-í meyi
together dig-CNV₁ fire place say-CNV₁ pot:ABS sit-CAUS-CNV₁ grain:ABS

bárʔ-í ʔála tá ʔal-á-ne geʔ-í gints-a
grind-CNV₁ beer:ABS 1SG:NOM beer brew-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ behind-LOC

gus-idda ʔárts-á-ne gócca nay-idda
gourd-LOC put into-IPF-A:DCL pull child-LOC

'The host in his turn, with the five people (i.e., those who decided on the date),

makes a hearth and places a pot on it. (He) grinds grain (acts as one who does so) and says 'I am brewing beer' and he later pours (the grain) into a gourd'

?arts-é-s-?a-ppa máára ?áde ?áára sóó dend-í
put into-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL house father:NOM now there go-CNV₁

ba-at-ó gar-ó-idda pétte dírsi jah-í gapá
cattle-PL-ABS inside-ABS-LOC one fence:ABS dismantle-CNV₁ finish

s'ípa ge?-í jah-é karr-ó-na gel-í gapá
offering say-CNV₁ dismantle-PF:REL door-ABS-INST enter-CNV₁ finish

waari fukk-á-ne
goat:ABS slaughter-IPF-A:DCL

'After pouring it, the host goes to where the cattle are kept and pulls out one of the woods (from which the barn is made), and after entering the barn through the broken fence, slaughters a goat (for sacrifice/offering)'

?ádé háik'k'-é-ne ge?-í yeekk-á-ne
father:NOM die-PF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ cry-IPF-A:DCL
'(Then he) cries saying his father has died'

yeepi dúúss-á-ne
mourning:ABS explode:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
'(He) starts crying out loud'

yepp-á dúúk'k'-é-s-?a-ppa bért-áf-í bayi
mourning-NOM explode-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL in front-VBZ-CNV₁ cattle:ABS

pétte tik'-á-ne
one cut-IPF-A:DCL
'After the mourning has started, they first slaughter a cow'

tik'-í silálli ge?-í ?as-ó yentsí-na wolla
cut-CNV₁ dust⁴ say-CNV₁ person-PL:ABS those-INST together

kaafi ?árk'-á-ne
ritual:ABS hold-IPF-A:DCL
'Having slaughtered (the cow), saying that "there is dust" (i.e., there is mourning)', together with those people (he) starts the ritual'

kaa33-ó bértá ?árk'-é-s-?á-ppa ?áára gintsá-ppa díbi
ritual-ABS in front hold-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL now behind-ABL a lot

⁴ The word *silálli* 'dust' is interpreted as indicator of a mourning day (dust raised by large number of mourners).

bayi wof-á-ne

cattle:ABS kill-IPF-A:DCL

'First they start the ritual and then they kill many cattle'

díbbó ba-at-ó fukk-í fukk-í ʔas-á

a lot-ABS cattle-PL-ABS slaughter-CNV₁ slaughter-CNV₁ person-PL:NOM

wúlf-ó démm-a kul-áána dorb-atsí ʔoʔ-int-í

canopy-ABS under-LOC accumulate-TEMP₂ drum-PL-ABS hit-PAS-CNV₁

ʔoʔ-int-í muk-á-ne

hit-PAS-CNV₁ come-IPF-A:DCL

'Having slaughtered many cattle while the people accumulate (the meat) under the canopy, the drummers come beating to each other's rhythm'

máará ʔádé dorb-atsi bért-ó ʔála ked-í

house father:NOM drummer-PL-ABS in front-ABS beer:ABS carry-CNV₁

ked-í dend-á-ne

carry-CNV₁ go-IPF-A:DCL

'The host walks before the drummers carrying (a pot of) beer'

dend-í dorb-atsi wúlfó gídda déʔ-its-í déʔ-its-í

go-CNV₁ drummer-PL-ABS canopy inside sit-CAUS-CNV₁ sit-CAUS-CNV₁

bérta kúc'-ó ʔekk-í ʔááf-é ʔats-atsí zedí ʔagg-í

in front hand-ABS take-CNV₁ go-PF:REL person-M-NOM mat:ABS lay-CNV₁

ʔagg-í ʔas-ó déʔ-its-á-ne

lay-CNV₁ person-PL:ABS sit-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL

'Having walked before them, he makes them sit inside the canopy; ... the person who first took the message (announcing the date of the ritual) lays skin mats on the ground and lets them sit'

ʔas-á déʔ-é-s-ʔa-ppa gins'-á-ppa ʔas-ó-m

person-PL:NOM sit-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL behind-LOC-ABL person-PL:ABS-DAT

ʔála ʔagg-í ʔagg-í ʔafʔi-nta ʔábbó-ntsi-m ʔád-ó

beer:ABS add-CNV₁ add-CNV₁ meat-INCL₂ uncle-DF:PL-ABS-DAT father-ABS

ʔábbó-ntsi-m ʔafʔi ʔagg-í ʔagg-í ʔind-ó

uncle-DF:PL-ABS-DAT meat:ABS add-CNV₁ add-CNV₁ mother-ABS

ʔábbó-ntsi-na god-att-ó-na dain-ó-na gattó

uncle-D:PL-ABS-INST chief-PL-ABS-INST judge-PL-INST gatto

maʔ-é-tsi-na yáá ʔas-ó ʔas-ó déʔ-its-í

happen-PF:REL-NMZ-INST that person-PL:ABS person-PL:ABS sit-CAUS-CNV₁

ʔála ʔagg-á-ne

beer:ABS add-IPF-A:DCL

'After the people are seated, they give them beer and to the maternal and paternal uncles they give meat and other things; uncles, chiefs, judges, and *Gatto* (i.e. those who are one rank lower than the chiefs), all those people, (they) make them sit according to their group/rank and they give them beer'

yáá-ppa dámm-á d'úúk'k'-áza ʔas-á yeepi

that-ABL DAMI-NOM explode-TEMP₁ person-PL:NOM mourning:ABS

yeekk-í péék'k'-á-ne

cry-CNV₁ spend the day-IPF-A:DCL

'After that, when the mourning starts, the people spend the day mourning'

yepp-ó yeekk-í péék'k'-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔáára d'óngo

mourning-ABS cry-CNV₁ spend the day-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL now five

ʔasó-ntsi buk-ínt-í duupp-ó ʔus'-ó-ídda gintsá

person-D:PL-NOM gather-RECP-CNV₁ grave-ABS body-ABS-LOC behind

wúlʃa wúlʃ-á-ne

canopy:ABS make canopy-IPF-A:DCL

'After spending the day mourning, now, the five people (who first decided on the date of the ritual) gather and make a canopy over the grave'

wúlʃ-ó wúlʃ-é-s-ʔa-ppa wúlʃ-ó-ko ʔac'-ó

canopy-ABS make canopy-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL canopy-ABS-GEN area-ABS

gídd-ó-ídda dári gá-á-nte ʔangí-nta zedí-nta ʔapílá-nta

inside-ABS-LOC dari⁵ say-IPF-TEMP₃ iron-INCL₂ skin-INCL₂ cloth-INCL₂

máár-ó-ídda ʔá-á ʔik'ó gápis-í ʔekk-í

house-ABS-LOC exist-IPF:REL goods:PL finish-CNV₁ taki-CNV₁

ʔac'-ó-ídda wah-á-ne dár-éll-ó duupp-ó ʔac'-a

area-ABS-LOC put into-IPF-A:DCL DARI-F-ABS grave-ABS area-LOC

'After making the canopy, around the canopy, they put *dari*, i.e., iron, skin mat, clothes of the deceased and all goods existing in the house and they put these around the grave'

k'ólm-ó-wa yénnó wóddó-na bukus-í hánga

property-ABS-INCL₁ that:F:ABS time-INST gather-CNV₁ DIRECT

⁵ *dari* refers to all goods and movable properties of the deceased which are by custom brought to the grave yard.

ʔúkk-itsí mááró ʔac'-ó-idda k'az-é-s-ʔa-ppa
 near-CAUS-CNV₁ house-ABS near-ABS-LOC wait for-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL

máár-ó-ko ʔádé k'ólmó ʔif-í gar-ó ʔarts-á-ne
 house-ABS-GEN father: NOM property drive-CNV₁ inside-ABS put-IPF-A:DCL
 'At the same moment, they gather the cattle and bring these towards here, i.e., close to the house and wait there. Then the host drives the cattle inside the house'

gar-ó ʔarts-é-s-a-ppa máár-ó ʔáde duupp-ó-ko
 inside-ABS put-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL house-ABS father grave-ABS-GEN

dárró wah-é ʔik'-atsi-nta ba-att-ó-nta-ko zúlló
dari-ABS put into-PF:REL thing-PL-INCL cattle-PL-ABS-GEN back

ʃir-andá gudeya ʔizá ked-á-ne
 turn-F:IPF COMP 3MS:ABS carry-IPF-A:DCL

'After putting the cattle in the house, (the people) carry the host so that he is shown around the *dari*, i.e., behind all the goods which are put around the grave and around the cattle'

ʔas-á geett-atsi-nta máár-ó na-att-ó-nta
 person:PL:NOM ritual officiator-M-INCL₂ house-ABS child-PL-ABS- INCL₂

buk-í ʔizá ked-í duup-ó-ko zúll-ó
 gather-CNV₁ 3MS:ABS carry-CNV₁ grave-ABS-GEN back-ABS

ʔik'-atsi-ko zúlló gubbe ʃir-á-ne
 goods-PL-ABS-GEN back all go round-IPF-A:DCL

'The people, the ritual officiator and children of the family get together and they carry him and go around the grave and all the goods'

ʔod-ó ʃir-é-s-ʔa-ppa gintsa ʔ-atsi saʔʔ-aa
 father-ABS go round-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL behind person-ABS ground-LOC

gets-á-ne
 put-IPF-A:DCL

'(They) take the host around the goods and later (they) put the man (i.e. the host) on the ground'

saʔʔ-aa gets-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔas-á ba-at-ó mirge
 ground-LOC put-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL person:PL-NOM cattle-PL-NOM many

ʃukk-é-tsi-ko ʔaʃʔ-ó maʒʒ-í maʒʒ-í wúlʃo
 slaughter-PF:REL-NMZ-GEN meat-ABS make-CNV₁ make-CNV₁ canopy

gídda wah-á-ne beelam-ó-m ʔing-ondó-tsi
 inside put-IPF-A:DCL b.friend-ABS-DAT give-F:NRRC-NMZ

'After putting him on the ground, people cut up the meat of the many cattle which

they have slaughtered and they put that which will be given to the bond friends into the canopy'

yénnó sáátt-ó-na ʔas-á buk-ínt-í yeekk-á
that:F:ABS time-ABS-INST person:PL-NOM gather-REFL-CNV₁ cry-IPF:REL

ʔas-á gar-ó gídd-ó-idda ʔá-á-nte máár-ó
person:PL-NOM inside-ABS inside-ABS-LOC exist-IPF-TEMP₃ house-ABS

ʔád-ó-na geett-atsí-na haiss-ó ʔad-ó-na
father-ABS-INST G.-M-ABS-INST story-ABS father-ABS-INST

buk-ínt-í ba-at-ó gar-ó-idda ʔá-áʔo
gather-RECP-CNV₁ cattle-PL-ABS inside-ABS-LOC exist-CNV₂

kar-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔabb-á gel-andá hell-and-áána sóókko
be light-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL sun-NOM enter-F:IPF reach-F:IPF-TEMP₂ chyme

béélli ʔééssi-na díik'i-na lélli ʔúʔ-á-ne
bond friend honey:ABS-INST milk:ABS-INST only drink-IPF-A:DCL

'At that time, while the mourning people (the relatives who were invited) are inside (the canopy), the host, the ritual officiator and the ritual advisor are in the cattle barn ... and starting from dawn until sunset the special bond friend⁶ drinks only (a mixture of) honey and milk'

mélle meyi-na kaamm-é baazzi ʔúʔ-uwá-se
other grain-INST meet-PF:REL thing drink-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

múʔ-uwá-se
eat-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'He does not drink other things that are made from grain (e.g. beer) and he does not eat food made from grain'

yemá sáátt-ó-na ʔáár-a bayi-ko béta máára
that:DIM time-ABS-INST now-INCL₁ cattle-ABS-GEN in front house

ʔádé bayi sóókko béélli bayi yáá-na tik'-á-ne
father:NOM cattle:ABS chyme b.friend cattle:ABS that-INST cut-IPF-A:DCL
'At that time, again, (talking) of cattle, the host slaughters a head of cattle and the special bond friend also slaughters one'

⁶ sóókko béélli 'the closest bond friend'(lit. chyme friend) is one who established his friendship by accepting a small present, e.g. a goat, but reciprocating for this by giving a big present, e.g. a cow. A special ceremony is held to mark a start of such a friendship; on this occasion, the two friends smear each other with chyme.

yáá-ppa gúbbe wudurá ba-at-ó fukk-á-ne
 that-ABL all in-law:PL-NOM cattle-PL-ABS slaughter-IPF-A:DCL
 'After that, all in-laws slaughter cattle'

ba-at-ó tik'-í tik'-í sóókk-ás-á-ne
 cattle-PL-ABS cut-CNV₁ cut-CNV₁ chyme-VBZ:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 '(They) slaughter cattle and take out the chyme and smear some of it on their body'

beelamm-á-a c'arg-í c'arg-i ba-at-ó bía pe kúc'-a
 b.friend:PL-NOM-INCL₁ stab-CNV₁ stab-CNV₁ cattle-PL-ABS all LOG hand-LOC

ba?-é ba-at-ó-na wáár-ó-na
 bring-PF:REL cattle-PL-ABS-INST goat:PL-ABS-INST

sóókk-á-s-á-ne

chyme-VBZ-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL

'The bond friends also stab and kill the cattle and goats which they themselves brought, and smear the chyme on their body'

yáá ba-at-ó wod'-é-s-?a-ppa haitsó bez-ó pak'-í
 like that cattle-PL-ABS kill-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL three place-ABS divide-CNV₁

máára ?ad-ó-m ?ing-á-ne

house father-ABS-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL

'Like that, having killed the cattle, (each of them) divides it into two (each share consisting of three important parts: one front leg, one back leg and one side of rib) and gives (one half) to the host'

haitsó bez-ó peeró mú?-áne

three place-ABS he alone eat-IPF-A:DCL

'The other half he eats alone/for himself'

ye-ká-ppa kaa33-ó ?árk'-é-s-?a-ppa ?abbá gel-aní
 that-LOC-ABL ritual-ABS start-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL sun:NOM enter-PURP

?úkk-áána fukk-é ba-atsi-ko silláll-ó wod'-é
 close-TEMP₂ slaughter-PF:REL cattle-M:ABS-GEN dust-ABS kill-PF:REL

ba-atsi-ko tookk-ó kats-í sóókkó béélli-m
 cattle-M-ABS-GEN head-ABS cook-CNV₁ chyme bond friend-DAT

muuss-í ba-at-ó gar-a ?ing-á-ne
 bring by force-CNV₁ cattle-PL-ABS inside-LOC give-IPF-A:DCL

'After that, they cook the head of the oxen that they slaughtered (on the day in which) the ritual started just after sun set approached, and that of the cattle which they slaughtered earlier to mark the start of the ceremony, and they bring the special bond friend by force and they give him the cooked oxen head in the cattle barn'

sóókko béélli ba-at-ó gar-a ʔafʔ-ó múʔ-é-s-ʔa-ppa
 chyme B.friend:NOM cattle-PL-ABS inside-LOC meat-ABS eat-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL

gutte bértá ʔálá ʔal-á-ne geʔ-í méy-ó
 morningin front beer:NOM make beer-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ grain-ABS

bárʔ-í guz-aa ʔarts-é-z-éll-ó gintsa tobb-í
 grind-CNV₁ gourd-LOC pour-PF-DEF-F-ABS again pour-CNV₁

ʔizá-m sóókko béélli-m ʔing-á-ne
 3MS:ABS-DAT chyme friend-DAT give-IPF-A:DCL

'After the special friend eats the meat in the barn, they pour (the mixture) which they earlier put in the gourd after grinding grain and pretending that they make beer and they give it to the special friend'

ye-mmá sááttó-na méy-ó ʔáára ʔi ʃát-ínt-s-í
 that-DIM:NOM time-INST grain-ABS now 3MS:NOM permit-PAS-CAUS-
 CNV₁

ʔála geʔ-í ʔúʃʔ-í ʔáll-ó hangotsi ʔúʃʔ-is'-ó
 beer:ABS say-CNV₁ drink-CNV₁ beer-ABS other:PL:ABS drink-INF-ABS

sáátt-ó-ídda gel-é-ne
 time-ABS-LOC enter-IPF-A:DCL

'At that time, he gets the grain cleaned (i.e., make it permitted for use through the ritual) and pretending (the mixture they gave him) is beer, he drinks it. (This act having been performed,) now the time comes for drinking the other (real) beer'

ye-ká-ppa kaa33-ó-ko gápins'o hell-and-áána
 that-LOC-ABL ritual-ABS-GEN end reach-F:IPF-TEMP₂

gintsa ʔád-ó-ko ʃoʔ-ínt-é na-at-ó gúbbe
 again father-ABS-GEN be born-PAS-PF:REL child-PL-ABS all

ba-at-ó gar-ó gel-z-í gapá bértá toyddí
 cattle-PL-ABS inside-ABS enter-CAUS-CNV₁ finish in front older child:NOM

dend-áne
 go-IPF-A:DCL

'After that, until the end of the ceremony, all children of the deceased are put into the cattle barn. And then the eldest child leaves the barn walking in front (of the others)'

gins'-ó sóókko béélli ʔáád-á-ne
 behind-ABS chyme b.friend:NOM go-IPF-A:DCL

'The special bond friend follows (the eldest son)'

hell-is-áʔʔo na-at-á gúbe maaki maʔ-í bare
 reach-CAUS-CNV₂ child-PL-NOM all leopard:ABS happen-CNV₁ decorating
 plant

maaki geʔ-í maaʔ-í woʔi-ko gins'-ó c'oor-ó
 leopard:ABS say-CNV₁ wear-CNV₁ eachother-GEN behind-ABS water hole-ABS

ʔac'-ó ʔoidó ʃir-and-áána góʔʔ-í hant-á-ne
 area-ABS four turn-F:IPF-TEMP₂ following each other-CNV₁ walk-IPF-A:DCL
 'Next, all children, turning into a leopard, saying that they are leopard, wearing a
 woven decorative plant (around their neck), stand behind each other and lower their
 body and walk around the water hole (dug close to the barn); making four rounds'

hant-é-s-ʔa-ppa mááro ʔádé déʔ-í yepp-ó yeekk-á-ne
 walk-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL house-ABS father sit-CNV₁ mourning-ABS cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'After walking, the host sits and cries'

bérta ʔas-á-a ʔizá-ko bérta déʔ-í
 in front person-PL:NOM-INCL₁ 3MS:ABS-GEN in front sit-CNV₁

beelamm-á-a mééʃi-na dádd-ó ʔifʔ-í yeekk-á-ne
 b.friend-PL:NOM-INCL₁ dung-INST chest-ABS smear-CNV₁ cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'The people too sit in front of him and cry. The bond friends too; they smear their
 chest with dung, and cry'

toiddi-na geezz-at-ó-na badalk'ó gá-á
 older child-INST younger brother-PL-ABS-INST badalk'o say-IPF:REL

baazzi zok'k'e ʔac'i ʔif-t-í déʔ-í yéékk-á-ne
 thing:ABS red soil:ABS smear-REFL-CNV₁ sit-CNV₁ cry-IPF-A:DCL
 'The eldest child and his younger brothers smear themselves with a red soil, which
 is called *badalk'o*, and they sit and cry'

ye-ká-ppa káʔʔi-ya káʔʔ-í ʔek'k'-é-s-ʔa-ppa
 that-LOC-ABL meeting for mourning-INCL₁ meet-CNV₁ stand-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL

ʔaʃʔ-ó ʔii-ka beelamm-ó-m sees's'-á-ne
 meat-ABS there b/friend-PL:ABS-DAT cut and give-IPF-A:DCL
 'After that, people who have not visited the deceased's family earlier (to express
 condolences) come and visit them, and after that (the family) give meat to the bond
 friends'

ʔaʃʔ-ó beelamm-ó-m sees's'-í sees's'-í
 meat-ABS bond friend:PL-ABS-DAT cut and give-CNV₁ cut and give-CNV₁

biri-ya ?ekk-á-ne ?iyátá beelamm-ó-idda-ppa
 money-INCL₁ take-IPF-A:DCL 3PL:NOM b.friend:PL-ABS-LOC-ABL
 'Giving meat to the bond friends, they take money from the bond friends'

yek-ká-ppa gintsa fir-í ?ádé háík'k'-é-tsi bíá
 that-LOC-ABL behind turn-CNV₁ father:NOM die-PF:REL-NMZ all

na-at-á buk-int-í yeekk-é-s-?a-ppa yepp-ó
 child-PL-NOM gather-REFL-CNV₁ cry-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL mourning

yénn-ó-ka-ppa haff-í gintsa marfa gets-á-ne
 that:F-ABS-LOC-ABL give up-CNV₁ behind arch:ABS put-IPF-A:DCL

ge?-í ba-at-ó ?áára kess-á-ne ba-at-ó
 say-CNV₁ cattle-PL-ABS now take out-IPF-A:DCL cattle-PL-ABS

karr-ó-na

door-ABS-INST

'After that, all the children of the deceased gather and mourn their father; then they stop crying and saying (they) will put the arch (at the door), they take all the cattle out of the house through the cattle door⁷'

gintsa sóó ?as-ó karr-ó-na waar-ó-wa ?if-í
 behind there person:PL-ABS door-ABS-INST goat:PL-ABS-INCL chase-CNV₁

kess-á-ne

take_out-IPF-A:DCL

'And then, over there, through people's door, they chase out the goats as well'

bía bákk-ó gap-is-é-ne kaa33-ó ge?-í
 all thing:PL-ABS be_finished-CAUS-PF-A:DCL ritual-ABS say-CNV₁

dámmó ?áára gap-is-aní sóó ló?-í naabb-ó
 dami:ABS now be_finished-CAUS-PURP there go-CNV₁ hearth-ABS

?ac'-ó gídd-ó-idda dóngo ?as-á buk-int-í pétte
 area-ABS inside-ABS-LOC five person:PL-NOM gather-REFL-CNV₁ one

guuri ge?-í guur-éll-ó naabb-ó ?ac'-a dók'k'-í
 circular_wood say-CNV₁ circular_wood-F-ABS hearth-ABS area-LOC plant-CNV₁

púrta met-á kés?-ó-wa gudiya wolla
 bad problem-NOM come_out-NRRC-INCL₁ COMP together

⁷ The arch, made from bent woods and plants, is hung on the upper part of the door.

saggi-na dók'k'-óna mítsi ʔá-á-ne

saggi-INST plant-NRRC wood-NOM exist-IPF-A:DCL

'Saying they have finished everything necessary for the ritual, now, the five people gather and they walk to the hearth with a small circular piece of wood, and they plant this wood near the hearth, ... there is a wood which they planted earlier in this place, when the bad incident (i.e., the death) occurred by uttering *saggi* (i.e., a curse/wish/promise uttered collectively)'

yénn-ó mís'-éll-ó buk-int-í dóngo ʔas-á wolla
that:F-ABS wood-F-ABS gather-RECP-CNV₁ five person:PL-NOM together

túg-á-ne

pull-IPF-A:DCL

'The five people come together and pull out that wood'

yénnó túg-é-s-ʔa-ppa ʔas-ó-m toiddi-nta
that:F-ABS pull-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL person-ABS-DAT elder child-INCL₂

haissó ʔád-ó-nta sóokko béelli-nta zoatsi-nta yáá bía
story-ABS father-ABS-INST₂ chyme friend-INST₂ diviner-INST₂ that all

waari waari kuc'-a ʔing-í c'ooró fank'-á-ne
goat:ABS goat:ABS hand-LOC give-CNV₁ water_hole-ABS buy-IPF-A:DCL

geʔ-í maassó fank'-a-ne geʔ-í d'áább-ó fank'-á-ne
say-CNV₁ yeast-ABS buy-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ grave stone-ABS buy-IPF-A:DCL

geʔ-í dér-z-ó fank'-á-ne geʔ-í fank'-í ʔekk-á-ne
say-CNV₁ necklace:ABS buy-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ buy-CNV₁ take-IPF-A:DCL

geʔ-í waari waari ʔing-á-ne mármári
say-CNV₁ goat:ABS goat:ABS give-IPF-A:DCL goat, i.e., has not given birth
'After they pull that out, (the host) gives to each of the people, i.e., to the eldest child, to the story father, to the bond friends, to the diviner, and all (people) like that, a goat that has not yet given birth. In return he receives money from them claiming that (he needs the money) in order to buy things like a water container, yeast, a grave stone and a necklace (which is used in funeral ritual)'

ʔing-é-s-ʔa-ppa gints-a ʔádó taakó denk'-í
give-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL behind-LOC father-ABS 1SG:GEN find-CNV₁

ʔekk-andá-ne geʔ-í d'áábo gets-óna besi
take-F:IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ grave_stone-ABS put-NRRC place:ABS

kay-ó-idda ʔá-á-ne
forest-ABS-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL

'After giving (the goats) now saying: "I will find my father", ... there is a place in the forest where a grave stone is kept'

geett-atsi kúc'-a ?ééssi ?ekk-í ?ing-á-ne
ritual officiator-M-ABS hand-LOC honey:ABS take-CNV₁ give-IPF-A:DCL
'(The host) takes honey and gives (i.e., puts it in the hands of) the ritual officiator'

?éézz-ó geett-atsí toiddi
honey-ABS ritual officiator-M:NOM elder child:ABS

lá??-is-é-s-?a-ppa melle ?asi d'áább-ó
lick-CAUS-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL another person:ABS grave stone-ABS

ked-andá-yá lá??-is-á-ne
carry-F:IPF-REL:ABS lick-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
'The ritual officiator makes the eldest child taste the honey, and after that he makes other people who will carry the grave stone taste the honey'

yentsí ?as-á dend-í d'áább-ó wónde peeró
that-DF:PL-NOM person-NOM go-CNV₁ grave stone-ABS earlier 3P.alone

júw-ó kess-í gets-é-ya t-á??o geett-atsi
stone-ABS take out-CNV₁ put-PF-REL:ABS BE-CNV₂ ritual officiator-M-ABS

?ekk-í ?áád-í toiddí-ya ?ekk-í ?áád-í d'áább-ó
take-CNV₁ go-CNV₁ elder child-INCL₁ take-CNV₁ go-CNV₁ grave stone-ABS

kó?-á-ne ge?-í denk'-é ?as-á kórsa ?erínk'o
search-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ find-PF:REL person-NOM near knowingly

melle baazzi kó?-áza geett-atsí d'áább-ó
another thing search-TEMP₁ ritual officiator-M-NOM grave stone-ABS

denk'-í gapá júcci dú?-á-ne
find-CNV₁ finish stone:ABS throw-IPF-A:DCL

'Those people, while they have earlier kept the grave stone somewhere (in the forest and thus know the location), they take the ritual officiator and the eldest child close to where they hid the grave stone, and they pretend that they are really searching for it. The ritual officiator himself finds the grave stone and throws a stone on it'

geett-atsí ?asi ?ád-ó dooma ge?-í júcca
ritual officiator-M-NOM person:ABS father-ABS dooma say-CNV₁ stone:ABS

dú?-é-s-?a-ppa toiddí ta ?ád-ó dooma
throw-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL elder child:NOM 1SG:GEN father-ABS dooma

hizi geʔ-i gapá júcca dúʔ-á-ne
 like this say-CNV₁ finish stone:ABS throw-IPF-A:DCL

'After the ritual officiator has thrown a stone saying "here is somebody's father!" the eldest child also throws a stone saying "here is my father!"'

ʔekk-i gapá ked-i muké-s-ʔa-ppa ked-é
 take-CNV₁ finish carry-CNV₁ come-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL carry-PF:REL

ʔas-ó-m ʔééssi ʔing-á-ne
 person:PL-ABS-DAT honey:ABS give-IPF-A:DCL

'Having brought the grave stone (to the ritual compound of the family), they give honey to the people who carried it'

ʔála-a ʔing-á-ne
 beer-INCL₁ give-IPF-A:DCL

'(They give them) beer too'

nuu-kó ʔádó yeekk-á-ne ʔóc'c'-á-ne geʔ-i
 1PL:GEN-GEN father-ABS cry-IPF-A:DCL give present-IPF-A:DCL say-CNV₁

dáább-ó-m naat-á dʔibi kátsa-nta ʔála-nta
 grave stone-ABS-DAT child-PL-NOM a lot food-INCL₂ beer-INCL₂

ʔekk-i ʔiif-á-ne
 take-CNV₁ serve-IPF-A:DCL

'Saying 'we mourn our father and we give offerings (to his grave stone), the children bring a lot of food and beer to where the grave stone is put'

ʔiif-áza yáyá ʔáll-ó-na káts-ó-na dáább-ó
 serve-TEMP₁ that:ABS beer-ABS-INST food-ABS-INST grave stone-ABS

ked-é ʔas-á múʔ-á-ne ʔuʔʔ-á-ne
 carry-PF:REL person:PL-NOM eat-IPF-A:DCL drink-IPF-A:DCL

'After they brought it, the people who carried the grave stone eat and drink that food'

ye-ká-ppa dáább-ó-ko ʔús'-a ʔáá wúlf-ó
 that-LOC-ABL grave stone-ABS-GEN body-LOC exist-IPF:REL canopy-ABS

démm-a toiddi-na geett-atsi-na wolla tókk-ó
 under-LOC eldest child-INST ritual officiator-M:ABS-INST together foot-ABS

kor-i déʔ-i wúlf-ó-ko démmi-na geett-atsi
 interlock-CNV₁ sit-CNV₁ canopy-ABS-GEN under-INST ritual officiator-M:ABS

⁸ *dooma* in this context is translated as 'Here it is!'. However, this word cannot be used after finding something which is lost, for example, in the house or in the farm.

yerk'-á-ne

kiss-IPF-A:DCL

'After that, the eldest child and the ritual officiator sit under the canopy where the grave stone is kept, facing each other with their legs interlocked (the grave stone is put between them). Then (the eldest child) kisses the ritual officiator'

geett-atsi yerk'-áza geett-atsí bía baazzi
 ritual officiator-M:ABS kiss-TEMP₁ ritual officiator:NOM all thing:ABS

tá nées-m bed-is-andá-way hizi ge?-í
 1SG:NOM 2SG-DAT be available-CAUS-F:IPF-SP.ACT like this say-CNV₁

ĩzá ʔanj-á-ne

3MS:ABS bless-IPF-A:DCL

'When (the eldest son) kisses the ritual officiator, the ritual officiator blesses him saying "I will make you have everything"'

taa-kó k'és's'e baazzi dībi ʔá-á-ne yáá bakkó
 1SG-GEN forbidden thing:ABS a lot exist-IPF-A:DCL that:ABS thing:IDF:PL

táa-m fát-ink'-andá gudiya hizi ge?-í naa-zz-í
 1SG-DAT allowed-VBZ-F:IPF COMP like this say-CNV₁ child-DF-NOM

toidd-í gést-á-ne

elder-NOM speak-IPF-A:DCL

'The eldest son (then) speaks, saying: "There are many things which are forbidden for me to use. I request that you allow those things to me"'

geett-atsí bía fát-ink'-ónk'ó fátí maw-únk'ó ge?-í
 ritual officiator-M:NOM all allowed-VBZ-OPT allowed happen-OPT say-CNV₁

ʔanj-á-ne

bless-IPF-A:DCL

'The ritual officiator blesses him saying "Let all be allowed to you"'

ʔeebí táná kup-á-s-á-ne hizi ge?-í
 something 1SG:ABS poor-VBZ-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL like this say-CNV₁

koofʔ-á-ne

appeal-IPF-A:DCL

'The eldest son (again) politely complains saying "Something makes me poor"'

yéy bía nées-m bed-ónk'ó yéya bía tá nées-m
 that:NOM all 2SG-DAT be found-OPT that:ABS all 1SG:NOM 2SG-DAT

bed-is-iyaway

be available-CAUS-SP.ACT

"May all that be available to you! I will get all that to you"

yéy bía néé-m ʔórgóc'-ínt-ónk'ó dalg-ónk'ó hiz-í
 that:NOM all 2SG-DAT rich-PAS-OPT be wide-OPT like this

geʔ-í geett-atsí gést-á-ne
 say-CNV₁ ritual officiator-M:NOM speak-IPF-A:DCL

'The ritual officiator says: "May all that be owned by you. Let your property be large!"'

dádd-ó-ídda dǎáabb-ó kórsa yerk'-á-ne
 chest-ABS-LOC grave stone-ABS around kiss-IPF-A:DCL

'(While seated, the eldest son) kisses the chest (of the ritual officiator) reaching out to him around the grave stone'

yerk'-és-ʔa-ppa gintsa ʔek'k'-í wúlʃ-ó ʔus'-aa-ppa
 kiss-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL behind stand up-CNV₁ canopy-ABS body-LOC-ABL

ʃah-á-ne

dismantle-IPF-A:DCL

'After kissing (the ritual officiator, the eldest son) stands up and dismantles the upper part of the canopy'

mirge súgútsi marayi ʃukk-í súgús'-ó-na
 a lot blood:ABS sheep:ABS slaughter-CNV₁ blood-ABS-INST

dǎáabb-ó tiʃʔ-á-ne
 grave stone-ABS smear-IPF-A:DCL

'A lot of blood ... (he) slaughters a sheep and smears the grave stone with the blood'

dǎáabb-ó ʔús'-ó súgús'-ó-na sóókka-na wolla
 grave stone-ABS body-ABS blood-ABS-INST chyme:ABS-INST together

tiʃʔ-í zok'k'-is-í haff-á-ne
 smear-CNV₁ be red-CAUS-CNV₁ give up-IPF-A:DCL

'He smears the grave stone with blood and chyme and makes it red'

yeka-ppa ʔek'k'-í k'ólmo kess-á-ne
 that-LOC-ABL stand up-CNV₁ property:ABS take out-IPF-A:DCL
 'After that, (they) stand up and take out the property'

ba-at-ó-na wááró-na kess-á-ne
 cattle-PL-ABS-INST goat:PL:ABS-INST take out-IPF-A:DCL
 'They take out cattle and goats'

⁹ Notice the use of the passive verb root ʔórgóc'-ínt-ónk'ó in this sentence which is derived from the intransitive verb ʔórgóc'- 'be rich' in order to express 'may (your father's property) be owned by you'.

kess-i dákk-é-s-ʔa-ppa máára ʔádó-na
take out-CNV₁ send-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL house father-ABS-INST

geett-atsi-na wolla bukiñt-i gáíló
ritual officiator-M:ABS-INST together get together-CNV₁ sound board:ABS

wark'-i wark'-i dámm-ó gintsa núúni gap-is-é-ne
beat-CNV₁ beat-CNV₁ Dami-ABS again 1PL:NOM finish-CAUS-PF-A:DCL
'After taking out (the cattle), the ritual officiator and the eldest son together each holding two sound boxes (i.e. made from small square wood pieces) say: "We finished the Dami ritual"'

ʔáára máár-á ʃát-ink'-é-ne
now house-NOM be allowed-VBZ-PF-A:DCL
'Now the house is cleaned from taboos'

korg-uwáte yeeppá gap-é-ne geʔ-i dámmó
dance-2PL:IMP mourning-NOM be finished-PF-A:DCL say-CNV₁ dami-ABS

ye-mmá-ka haff-á-ne
that-DIM-LOC give up-IPF-A:DCL
'Saying "Dance! the mourning is over", they stop the ritual at that point'

Text 2 "Frog, where are you?"

Speaker: Tembel Desta; Age: 32; Place: Koibe, Bako-Gazer *Woreda*, Ethiopia;
Recorded on 16 August 1996.

pétte máár-idda haitsó baazzi ʔá-á-ne
one house-LOC three things exist-IPF-A:DCL
'In one house there are/were three things'

ye-ntsí ʔaigó d-á-y nayí-na kaní-na
that-PL:NOM what:ABS BE-IPF-Q child:ABS-INST dog:ABS-INST

pank'-ó-na
frog:ABS-INST
'What are these? A child, a dog and a frog'

pétte máár-ka nang-á-ne
one house-LOC live-IPF-A:DCL
'(They) live in one house'

pank'-éll-ó maʔ-é bilk'ás'-é-ko gar-ka
frog-F-ABS happen-PF:REL bottle-GEN inside-LOC

ʔiyátá ʔagg-í ʔagg-í ʔamall-á-ne
3PL put-CNV₁ put-CNV₁ play-IPF-A:DCL

'They put the frog in a certain bottle and they play (with it)'

pank'-éll-á ʃaukki dákka maʔ-é-ya t-á-nte
frog-F-NOM light little happen-PF:REL-ABS BE-IPF-TEMP₃

pétte k'áné-na ʔiyátá zag-á wodd-ó-na pank'-éll-á
one day-INST 3PL:NOM see-IPF:REL time-ABS-INST frog-F-NOM

kesk-í pétte tókó-mmá lélli bilk'ás'-ó gar-ó-idda
go out-CNV₁ one leg-DIM:NOM only bottle-ABS inside-ABS-LOC

ʔátt-í karr-ó-na kesk-í ʃedf-é-ne
remain-CNV₁ door-ABS-INST go out-CNV₁ appear-PF-A:DCL

'While the frog is light and little, one day, when they look, they found that the frog was going out (from the bottle); only one of its legs remaining in the bottle'

há-nn-á pank'-éll-á ʔánka ʔáád-ání gá-á-mó hizí geʔ-í
this-F-NOM frog-F-NOM where go-PURP say-IPF-RHT:Q like this say-CNV₁

zag-í haʃf-é-s-ʔa-ppa maʔi ʔiyátá gins'-á-ppa
see-CNV₁ give up-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL again 3PL:NOM behind-LOC-ABL

zag-á wodd-ó-na gar-ó-idda-ppa pank'-éll-á
see-IPF:REL time-ABS-INST inside-ABS-LOC-ABL frog-F-NOM

ʔáádí báík'k'-í bilk'ás'-ó-mmá gúri ʔá-á-nte
go-CNV₁ lost-CNV₁ bottle-ABS-DIM:NOM empty exist-IPF-TEMP₃

ʔiyátá zag-é-ne
3PL:NOM see-PF-A:DCL

'Saying "where does this frog want to go," they looked at the frog and gave up. When they later came and looked, the frog had gone out of (the bottle) and disappeared and they found the bottle empty'

kan-ó naʔʔ-ó-na ʔas-ommá-na wói-t-é-y
dog-ABS child-DF-ABS-INST person-DIM-INST Q-BE-PF-Q

kói-tsi ʔizo ʔark'-é-ne
search-INF 3FS:ABS hold-PF-A:DCL

'What did the dog and the little boy do? They started looking for it.'

ʔiyátá kóy-í kóy-í kóy-í gáá wodd-ó-na
3PL:NOM search-CNV₁ search-CNV₁ search-CNV₁ say-IPF:REL time-DF-INST

pank'-éll-á báik'k'-é-ne
 frog-F-NOM disappear-PF-A:DCL
 'While they searched and searched the frog was not found'

máár-ó-idda c'aammé bótte c'aammé ʔá-á-ne
 house-DF-LOC shoe:ABSboot shoe exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'In their house there is a boot shoe'

yáá gar-aa gel-é-mó há bilk'ás'-a-ppa kesʔ-i ʔizá
 there inside-LOC enter-PF-RHT:Q this bottle-LOC-ABL go out-CNV₁ 3FS:NOM

ʔánk-ó ʔáád-é-mó
 Q:LOC-ABS go-PF-RHT:Q
 'Has it perhaps gone into that (i.e., in the shoe)? Having gone out of this bottle, where did it go?'

ʔánk-ó ʔete gel-é-y
 Q:LOC-ABS hole:ABS enter-PF-Q
 'Into what hole did it enter?'

gónte bótt-ó c'aamm-ó-ko garó-idda n-andá-ne hizí geʔ-i
 perhaps boot-ABS shoe-DF-GEN inside-LOC BE-F:IPF-A:DCL like this say-CNV₁

ʔekk-i ʔiyátá bótt-ó-ko c'aamm-ó-ko gar-ó
 take-CNV₁ 3PL:NOM boot-DF-GEN shoe-DF-GEN inside-ABS

híddí zag-é-ne
 like this see-PF-A:DCL
 'While saying "Perhaps it is inside the boot shoe" they took the shoe and looked inside the shoe'

kan-ó naʔʔ-á gints-a dend-í bilk'ás'-ó-ko gar-ó
 dog-ABS child-NOM behind-LOC go-CNV₁ bottle-ABS-GEN inside-ABS

gel-í hayí-ka gónte gar-aa ʔá-áʔʔo ʔatt-asinway geʔ-i
 enter-CNV₁ this-LOC perhaps inside-LOC exist-CNV₂ remain-DUB:Q say-CNV₁

bilk'ás'-ó gar-aa tookk-ó dákk-í kóʔ-á-ne
 bottle-ABS inside-LOC head-ABS send-CNV₁ search-IPF-A:DCL
 'After that, the dog entered into the bottle and saying "Did it perhaps enter into this?" (the dog) put its head inside the bottle and looked for the frog'

kóʔ-á-nte báik'k'-é-ne
 search-IPF-TEMP₃ disappear-PF-A:DCL
 'When (the dog) searched (the frog) was not found'

pank'-éll-á báik'k'-áza ʔánk-ó dend-é-mó gá-áʔʔo naʔʔ-á
 frog-F-NOM disappear-TEMP₁ Q:LOC-ABS go-PF-RHT:Q say-CNV₂ child-NOM

mastót-ó-na híddí súkk-ó bantsi fir-á??o
window-ABS-INST like this across-ABS DIRECT turn-CNV₂

?éél-itsi ?ark'-é-ne
call out-INF:ABS hold/start-PF-A:DCL

'When the frog was not found, while saying "Where might it go?" the boy (went) to the window, turned his head to the place across his house and started calling out'

na??-á séka fir-í ?éél-is'-ó ?éél-á-ne
child-NOM there turn-CNV₁ call-INF-ABS call-IPF-A:DCL

'The boy turned sideways and started calling'

eh kan-ó na??-ómma gints-a bilk'ás'-ó-ídda
eh dog-ABS child-DIM:NOM behind-LOC bottle-ABS-LOC

tookk-ó dákk-í kó?-á-ne
head-ABS send-CNV₁ search-IPF-A:DCL

'eh... later the little dog put its head in the bottle and sought the frog there'

yáá-ppa gints-a báik'k'-é wodd-ó-na néení
there-ABL behind-LOC disappear-PF:REL time-ABS-INST 2SG:NOM

?ánka baiz-é-y gáá-na kan-ó na??-ómma na??-á
Q:LOC lose-PF-Q say-INST dog-ABS child-DIM:ABS child-NOM

?ark'-í gapá c'uull-í ?indirz-ó kess-í
hold-CNV₁ finish seize by the neck-CNV₁ tongue-ABS take out-CNV₁

dím?-í ?ark'-é-ne
tighten-CNV₁ hold-PF-A:DCL

'After that, when it was lost, the boy seized the dog by the neck and held it tightly forcing its tongue out while saying "Where did you get it lost?"'

?eyí?e táání denk'-ibá-se hizi gáá-ya-na ?iyátá
no 1SG:NOM find-PF:NEG-N:DCL like this say-NMZ-INST 3PL:NOM

wol-ídda zal-í bék'k'á gints-a súkka kay-atsi
each other-LOC argue-CNV₁ TEMP₄ behind-LOC across-LOC forest-M:ABS

baakk-ó dend-é n-andá-ne
middle-ABS go-PF:REL BE-F:IPF-A:DCL

'(The dog) responded "No, I did not see it". Later, they stopped arguing with each other (and said) "It might have gone to the other side in the middle of that big forest"

hizi gá-á??o súkk-ó ?iyátá dend-í kó?-andá-ne ge?-í
like this say-CNV₂ across-ABS 3PL:NOM go-CNV₁ search-FUT:IPF say-CNV₁

mukk-á wodd-ó-na kay-ó baakk-ó-idda ?así
 come-IPF:REL time-INST forest-ABS middle-ABS-LOC person:NOM

?itíntsi túkk-í ha?f-é-ya denk'-é-ne
 beehive:ABS tie-CNV₁ leave PF:REL-NMZ find-PF-A:DCL

'Having said this, they found a beehive in the middle of the forest which somebody tied (to a tree) and left there when they came to the other side to search'

?itíns'-éll-ó-idda góónte n-andá-mó gáá-na kan-éll-á
 beehive-F-ABS-LOC perhaps BE-F:IPF-RHT:Q say-INST dog-F-NOM

mukk-á?to ?itíns'-ó démm-a ?ek'k'-í ?itíns'-ó-ko
 come-CNV₂ beehive-ABS under-LOC stand-CNV₁ beehive-ABS-GEN

mís'-ó ?ark'-é-ne
 wood-ABS hold-PF-A:DCL

'The dog stood under the beehive and held the tree thinking "Perhaps it is in the beehive"'

?eyí?e táání hayí-ka melle bes-?a kó?-andá-ne hizí
 no 1SG:NOM this-LOC another place-LOC search-FUT:IPF like this

gá-á?to na??-á peekó musúr-ó ?ark'-í mal-í
 say-CNV₂ child-NOM LOG:GEN lip-ABS hold-CNV₁ think-CNV₁

bék'k'-á hírk-í sa??-ó bantsi zag-á
 TEMP₄ bend down-CNV₁ earth-ABS DIRECT see-IPF:REL

wodd-ó-na ?ete ?á-á-ne
 time-ABS-INST hole:ABS exist-IPF-A:DCL

'By saying "no I will search here in some other place", the boy held his mouth and thought about (what to do next). (Then) when he lowered himself and started searching on the ground, he saw a hole'

ha-ka ?ett-ó gar-aa n-andá-mó ge?-í ?ett-ó
 this-LOC hole-ABS inside-LOC BE-F:IPF-RHT:Q say-CNV₁ hole-ABS

?izá kunt-í zag-á wodd-ó-na
 3FS:NOM kneel down-CNV₁ see-IPF:REL time-ABS-INST

?ett-á-ppa ?iis'í ɓaʃk-í kesk-é-ne
 hole-LOC-ABL rat:NOM run-CNV₁ go out-PF-A:DCL

'When he knelt down and looked at the hole while saying "It might be here inside the hole", a rat ran out from the hole'

hiis'í ɓaʃ?-í kes?-áza ?aigó baazzí-mó hayí
 rat:NOM run-CNV₁ go out-TEMP₁ what:ABS thing-RHT:Q this:NOM

kesʔ-é-tsí geʔ-í dik'átt-áʔʔo ɓaʃʔ-é-ne
 go out-PF:REL-NMZ say-CNV₁ scared-CNV₂ run-PF-A:DCL
 'When the rat came out running, scared, (the boy) ran thinking "what is this that has come out?"'

kan-éll-á ʔitins'-ó-ko mís'-ó ʔark'-í ha lóó
 dog-F-NOM beehive-ABS-GEN tree-ABS hold-CNV₁ this up
 n-andá-ne hizí gá-ya-na zag-á-nte más'-á
 BE-F:IPF-A:DCL like this say-NMZ-INST see-IPF-TEMP₃ bee-NOM

lóó-ppa duʃʃ-í ʔitins'-ó-na wolla kédd-é-ne
 up-ABL break-CNV₁ beehive-ABS-INST together descend-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog held the tree, and while it was looking and thinking "(the frog) may be up there" the beehive broke and fell (on the ground)'

kédd-áʔʔo saʔʔ-ó-idda d'úúk'k'-é-ne más'-á
 descend-CNV₂ ground-DF-LOC explode-PF-A:DCL bee:INDF:PL-NOM
 '(The hive) having fallen, the bees dispersed on the ground'

d'úúk'k'-áza ʔizá ʔaigé kúttu geʔ-í kédd-é-mó
 explode-TEMP₁ 3FS:NOM what:NOM IDEO say-CNV₁ descend-PF-RHT:Q

geʔ-í kan-éll-á híddí ʃír-í zag-á wodd-ó-na
 say-CNV₁ dog-F-NOM like this turn-CNV₁ see-IPF:REL time-ABS-INST

lóó-ppa ʔitins'-á kédd-é-ne
 up-ABL beehive-NOM fall-PF-A:DCL
 'When (the bees) swarmed the area she (i.e. the little dog) thought "what is this heavy thing that fell?" and when it turned like this and looked up it was the beehive that had fallen from up there'

más'-á saʔʔ-ó-idda d'úúk'k'-áʔʔo dauss-itsi
 bee:PL-NOM earth-ABS-LOC explode-CNV₂ chase-INF

ʔiyátó ʔark'-é-ne
 3PL:ABS hold-PF-A:DCL
 'Having swarmed the ground, the bees started chasing them (i.e. the dog and the boy)'

dauss-áza súkk-ó kesk-áʔʔo naʔʔ-á wóí-t-andá-y
 chase-TEMP₁ across-ABS go out-CNV₂ child-NOM what-BE-F:IPF-Q
 'When (the bees) chased them, (they) crossed towards the other side and what did the boy do?'

ɓaʃk-í pétte kaizi baak-ka gel-áʔʔo mítsi k'ooppe
 run-CNV₁ one forest:ABS middle-LOC enter-CNV₂ tree:ABS wood hole:ABS

denk'-áʔʔo ʔéʔé hánnó k'oopp-ó gar-aa gónte
find-CNV₂ yes this:F:ABS wood hole-ABS inside-LOC perhaps

gel-é n-andá-ne pank-éll-á gá-áʔʔo kunt-í
enter-PF:REL BE-F:IPF-A:DCL frog-F-NOM say-CNV₂ kneel-CNV₁

zag-áana garó-idda -ppa kúkúte kesk-é-ne
see-TEMP₂ inside-LOC-ABL owl:ABS go out-PF-A:DCL

'He (i.e., the boy) entered a forest running, and he saw a hole in a tree. While saying "Perhaps the frog has entered this hole" he kneeled down and just when he looked (inside) an owl came out from inside (the hole)'

kúkúte keemm-atsí gar-á-ppa kesʔ-áza dik'átt-áʔʔo
owl:ABS huge:DF:M:NOM inside-LOC-ABL go out-TEMP₁ scared-CNV₂

ʃaʃʔ-í mágg-a loomm-é-ne
run-CNV₁ ravine-LOC fall-PF-A:DCL

'When a huge owl came out from inside, scared, (the boy) ran and (he) fell in a ravine'

loomm-í ʔiika dik'átt-í ʔá-á-nte kan-á mayi más'-á
fall-CNV₁ there scared-CNV₁ exist-IPF-TEMP₂ dog return bee-NOM

daus-é-tsí-na dik'átt-í ʔindírsi kess-í ʃaʃk-á-ne
chase-PF-NMZ-INST scared-CNV₁ tongue:ABS take out-CNV₁ run-IPF-A:DCL
'Having fallen, while he was still there (in the ravine), being scared, the dog came running, its tongue hanging out because the bees chased it'

dik'átt-is'-ó-na wolla kan-ó naʔʔ-á bért-a
scared-INF-ABS-INST together dog-DF child-NOM in front-LOC

ʃaʃʔ-á-ne naʔʔ-á gins'ó ʃaʃʔ-á-ne
run-IPF-A:DCL child:DF:NOM behind-ABS run-IPF-A:DCL
'Full of fear they ran together. The dog ran in front. The boy ran behind (the dog)'

ʃaʃʔ-á-nte kaizi ʃed'-é-ne
run-IPF-TEMP₃ forest:ABS be visible-PF-A:DCL
'While they ran they saw a forest'

ha kay-ó baak-ka nú gel-í ʔááʃ-int-andá-wáy
this forest-ABS middle:LOC 1PL:NOM enter-CNV₁ hide-PAS-F:IPF-E:DCL

gá-áʔʔo gel-á-nte ʃúcci gude baazzi kuuliyo gíʔ-í
say-CNV₂ enter-IPF-TEMP₃ stone:ABS like thing:ABS IDEO say-CNV₁

saʔʔ-ó-idda ʔá-á gá-áza ʔízó ʔús'-a c'ákku
earth-ABS-LOC exist-IPF:REL say-TEMP₁ 3FS:ABS body-LOC INTJ

nú giʔ-í ʔek'k'-andá-wáy gá-áʔʔo pee-kó yéy púúpi
 IPL:NOM climb-CNV₁ stand-F:IPF-E:DCL say-CNV₂ 3LOG-GEN that big

ʃúw-ó mal-é-tsi pétte púúpi bóʔó t-á-nte
 stone-ABS look like-PF:REL-NMZ one big wild animal BE-IPF-TEMP₃

bóʔʔ-átsi-ko kesk-í gurann-ó
 wild animal-M:ABS-GEN go out-CNV₁ horn:PL-ABS

baakk-ó-idda naʔʔ-á ʔek'k'-é-ne
 middle-ABS-LOC child-NOM stand-PF-A:DCL

'While they entered (the forest) saying "We will hide in the middle of this forest!", they saw something big on the ground. This thing looked like stone. (The boy said) 'wait! we will climb on top of (this thing)'. That big thing which appeared to be a stone was in reality a big wild animal and the boy climbed over it and stood in the middle of its horns'

kan-á démm-a ʔek'k'-é-ne
 dog-NOM under-LOC stand-PF-A:DCL
 'The dog stood underneath (the wild animal)'

kan-á démm-a bóʔʔ-átsi-ko ʔek'k'-áza naʔʔ-á
 dog-NOM under-LOC animal-M-GEN stand-TEMP₁ child-NOM

giʔ-í ʔús'-a ʔek'k'-é-tsi-ró bóʔʔ-átsi dik'átt-áʔʔo
 climb-CNV₁ body-LOC stand-PF-NMZ-REAS animal-M:NOM scared-CNV₂

naʔʔ-ó gurann-ó baakk-ó-idda ʔekk-áʔʔo ʃaʃk-í
 child-ABS horn-ABS middle-ABS-LOC take-CNV₂ run-CNV₁

súkk-ó pink'-é-ne
 across-ABS cross-PF-A:DCL

'When the dog stood underneath the wild animal (and) because the boy stood on top of it, the wild animal got scared and while the boy is (still standing) between its horns it ran and crossed to the other side'

naʔʔ-á mayi gurann-ó baakk-ó-idda ʔá-á-ne
 child-NOM again horn-NOM middle-ABS-LOC exist-IPF-A:DCL
 'The boy was still in the middle of the (wild animal's) horns'

ʃaʃ-is-í ʃaʃ-is-í ʔilát-s-í ʔekk-í
 fall to side-CAUS-CNV₁ fall to side-CAUS-CNV₁ cry-CAUS-CNV₁ take-CNV₁

naʔʔ-ó súkkó pink'-áza kan-á ʔilátt-ó-na
 child-DF-ABS across cross-TEMP₁ dog-NOM cry-ABS-INST

bóʔʔ-átsi-ko púúpp-úm-ó-na ʔigic'-c'-í gints-a
 w. animal-M:ABS-GEN big-NMZ-ABS-INST fear-CNV₁ behind-LOC

ḡaʃʃ-é-ne

run-PF-A:DCL

'Throwing the boy from one of its horns to the other, causing him cry (from the pain), (the wild animal) crossed to the other side. The dog, because of the (boy's) crying and frightened by the big size of the animal, ran behind them'

ʔekk-í mukk-áʔʔo déne púúpi mági ḡed-áza
take-CNV₁ come-CNV₂ cliff edge:ABS big rivine:ABS be_seen-TEMP₁

mágg-ó-ko ʔús'-ó-idda mukk-áʔʔo bóʔʔ-átsí
ravine-ABS-GEN body-ABS-LOC come-CNV₁ w.animal-M:NOM

naʔʔ-ó ʒib-é-ne

child-ABS throw-PF-A:DCL

'The wild animal brought the boy and when it saw the edge of a cliff it threw (the boy) over (the edge) into the ravine'

naʔʔ-á ʔagitsi dend-í kúc'-ó c'árinci bantsi
child-NOM backwards go-CNV₁ hand-INDF:PL sky:ABS towards

d'aww-í saʔʔ-aa dend-í loomm-é-ne
point-CNV₁ earth-LOC go-CNV₁ fall-PF-A:DCL

'The boy fell backwards, his hands stretched towards the sky'

kan-ó-wa dik'átt-ís'ó-na ḡaʃʃ-áʔʔo mágg-ó ʔáádf-é-ne
dog-ABS-INCL scared-INF-ABS-INST run-CNV₂ cliff-ABS go-PF-A:DCL

'The dog, because it was scared, ran and fell into the ravine'

kan-á g-idda mukk-áʔʔo dádd-a naʔʔ-ó-ko
dog-NOM inside-LOC come-CNV₂ chest-LOC child-ABS-GEN

loomm-áza woli konk'-í ʔekk-áʔʔo ḡaʃʃ-í súkkó
fall-TEMP₁ eachother embrace-CNV₁ take-CNV₂ run-CNV₁ across-ABS

ʔiyátá pink'-é-ne

3PL:NOM cross-PF-A:DCL

'When the dog fell on the boy's chest, they embraced each other and they crossed to the other side running'

mayi kúkútt-éll-á wónde dik'átt-é-tsí-na bóʔʔ-á
again owl-F-NOM earlier scared-PF-NMZ-INST w.animal-NOM

dik'átt-é-tsí-na ʔinn-á ʔiyátó-ko báík'k'-é-ne
scared-PF-NMZ-INST heart-NOM 3PL:ABS-GEN disappear-PF-A:DCL

'Well, because the owl scared them earlier and because the wild animal scared them, they lost their mind'

t-á-nte ʔiyátó-ko mál-is'-á báʃe pank-éll-ó
BE-IPF-TEMP₃ 3PL:ABS-GEN think-INF-NOM surpass frog-F-ABS

nuu-kó nú ʔánka-ppa denk'-í ʔamall-andá-y hizí
1PL:GEN-GEN 1PL:NOM Q:LOC-ABL find-CNV₁ play-F:IPF-Q like this

gá-á mal-is'-ó kóy-is'-ó ʔiyátá ʔinn-á-ppa
say-IPF:REL think-INF-ABS search-INF-ABS 3PL:NOM heart-LOC-ABL

baizzí-bá-tsi-ró loomm-atsí-na bíá bakk-ó
lose-PF:NEG-NMZ-REAS fall-M:ABS-INST all thing:PL-ABS

mal-íba-se

think-PF:NEG-N:DCL

'However, their thought was more (focused) on "where can we find our little frog and play with it", and because they kept this thought and the search (plan) in mind, they did not mind falling badly or any other accidents (they encountered)'

yáá mágg-a-ppa kesʔ-í ʔiyátá súkkó pink'-áza
that ravine-LOC-ABL go out-CNV₁ 3PL:NOM other side cross-TEMP₁

pank'-ó lamʔó púúpi pankó ʔiyátá denk'-é-ne
frog-ABS two big frog 3PL:NOM find-PF-A:DCL

'When they came out from that ravine and crossed to the other side, they found two big frogs'

ʔéʔé nuu-kó hayí-fo pank'-atsí hizí geʔ-í ʔiyátá
yes! 1PL:GEN-GEN this-be frog-M:NOM like this say-CNV₁ 3PL:NOM

ʔekk-aní g-áána wónde ʔiyátá zag-átsí t-uwá-se
take-PURP say-TEMP₂ earlier 3PL:NOM see-M:NOM BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
'Just when they were about to take it, saying, "Yes! here is our frog!", (they realised) that it was not (the frog) that they thought they saw earlier'

ʔáápp-ó púúpi melle pank'ó ʔiyátá denk'-é-ne
eye-ABS big another frog:ABS 3PL:NOM find-PF-A:DCL

'They found another frog which had big eyes'

yáá-ppa gints-a ʔeyíʔe hayí nu pank'-atsí
that-ABL behind-LOC no this:M:NOM 1PL:GEN frog-M:NOM

t-uwá-se

BE-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'After that (they said) "No, this is not our frog"'

nú wówói-t-andá-y hizí gá-áʔʔo súkk-ó pink'-á-nte
1PL:NOM RDP-Q-BE-F:IPF-Q like this say-CNV₂ across-ABS cross-IPF-TEMP₂

ɖibi pank'-á ɖeɖ-é-ne

many frog-NOM be visible-PF-A:DCL

'When they crossed to the other side, saying "What shall we do?", they found many frogs'

ɖibi pank'-á ɖeɖ-áza ʔéʔé hánnó baak-ka báík'-áʔʔá

many frog-NOM see-TEMP₁ yes this:F:ABS middle-LOC disappear-E:NEG

'When they found many frogs "yes! (our frog) will certainly be among these!"'

hizi gá-áʔʔo ʔiyátá kóí-tsi ʔark'-é-ne

like this say-CNV₂ 3PL:NOM search-INF hold-PF-A:DCL

'While saying this they started searching'

kóy-is'-ó ʔiyátá ʔark'-í mukk-áana ɖíbb-ó

search-INF-ABS 3PL:NOM hold-CNV₁ come-TEMP₂ many-ABS

pank'-atsi-ko baakk-ó-idda ʔiyátó pank'-ómmá ɖákk-ómmá

frog-M:ABS-GEN middle-ABS-LOC 3PL:GEN frog-DIM:NOM little-DIM:NOM

ɖeɖ-é-ne

be visible-PF-A:DCL

'Just when they started searching, among the many frogs they found their little frog'

bilk'-ás'-ó-idda wónde ʔiyátá ʔagg-í ʔagg-í gá-á

bottle-ABS-LOC earlier 3PL:NOM put-CNV₁ put-CNV₁ say-IPF:REL

pank'-ómmá ɖeɖ-áza ʔi-mmá ʔiyátá wózá-na ʔekk-áʔʔo

frog-DIM:NOM be visible-TEMP₁ that:DIM 3PL:NOM happy-INST take-CNV₂

miic'-ó-na mayi ʔáápp-ó karr-á mizaɖɖ-í

laughter-INST again eye-ABS door-NOM be beautiful-CNV₁

kan-éll-á ʔizó bantsi kosi ɖéʔ-é-ne

dog-F-NOM 3FS:ABS DIRECT squat-CNV₁ sit-PF-A:DCL

'When the little frog was found, the one with which they earlier played by putting it in the bottle, they took it happily. Their face looked beautiful because of the smiling. Then the dog sat facing her (i.e., the little boy)'

naʔʔ-á kan-ó bantsi ʃir-áʔʔo ʔekk-í ʔiyátá denk'-é-ya

child-NOM dog-ABS towards turn-CNV₂ a lot-with 3PL:NOM find-PF-NMZ

t-á-tsí-ró mirgé-na wóz-áɖ-í kúc'-a híddí

BE-IPF-NMZ-REAS a lot-INST happy-VBZ-CNV₁ hand-LOC like this

ʔekk-áʔʔo péttó naʔʔ-á c'árinc'-ó bantsi kúc'-ó ɖégg-ídd-í

take-CNV₂ DGRE child-NOM sky-ABS DIRECT hand-ABS high-VBZ-CNV₁

miic'e'-í miic'e'-í gá-áza kan-á péttó ?unkí zug-í
 laugh-CNV₁ laugh-CNV₁ say-TEMP₁ dog-NOM DGRE tail swing-CNV₁

zug-í súkk-ó-idda kaamm-á??o wolla máár-ó bantsi
 swing-CNV₁ across-ABS-LOC meet-CNV₂ together house-ABS DIRECT

dend-á??o ?átt-é pank'-atsi ?iyátá denk'-í mayi
 go-CNV₂ remain-PF:REL frog-PL:ABS 3PL:NOM find-CNV₁ again

kófi de?-uwáte nú nu pank-ómma ?ekk-é-ne
 good sit-2PL:IMP 1PL:NOM 1PL:GEN frog-DIM:ABS take-PF-A:DCL

'The boy turned to the dog, and because they found (the frog) he was very happy. He took (the frog) in his hands like this and raised his hands very high towards the sky, and (he) laughed, and the dog kept swinging its tail (very fast), and they met on the other side and started heading towards home. Then they saw the remaining frogs and said "Well, we took our little frog. Stay well!"'

kófi de?-uwáte hizí ge?-í selant-á??o wóza-na
 good stay-2PL:IMP like this say-CNV₁ greet-CNV₂ happy-INST

pé-mááro bantsi má?-é-ne gá?-á taarík-á
 LOG-house-ABS DIRECT return-PF-A:DCL say-IPF:REL story-NOM

háya-ke

this:M:ABS-BE:DCL

'They took leave of them saying "Stay well!" and happily, they returned towards their home. This is the story.'

Text 3 Extract from conversation about Maale customs of marriage and birth

Q- maallé-ko wáá??e ?ainate ló?-itsi ?á-á-y
 maale-GEN how many type marry-INF exist-IPF-Q
 'How many types of marriage are there in Maale?'

A- maalló wudúr-átsi d'éépp-é-tsi-ko gins'-á-ppa
 maale:PL:ABS girl-PL:NOM be big-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-LOC-ABL

dúmmi-na gocc-á-ne
 dark:ABS-INST pull-IPF-A:DCL

'When Maale girls are grown, (young men) take them out'¹⁰

¹⁰ When a young boy and a girl start a relationship, they keep a big stone nearby the house of the girl and in the evenings the boy comes to the house of the girl and the two go

dúmmi-na gocc-í gocc-í dúmmi-na kes?-í
 dark:ABS-INST pull-CNV₁ pull-CNV₁ dark:ABS-INST take out-CNV₁

kes?-í dúmm-idda dé?-á-ne
 take out-CNV₁ dark:ABS-LOC sit-IPF-A:DCL
 '(The men) take them out in the dark (repeatedly) and sit in the dark'

dé?-í de?-í wolla gest-í gest-í gá-áza
 sit-CNV₁ sit-CNV₁ together speak-CNV₁ speak-CNV₁ say-TEMP₁

gá-áza d'ibi ?asi ?erg-á-ne
 say-TEMP₁ a lot person:ABS borrow-IPF-A:DCL
 'They having gone out (repeatedly) and talk with each other (repeatedly), (the man) gathers several men together'

d'ibi ?asi ?erg-á??o wolla gaadd-í
 a lot person:ABS borrow-CNV₂ together dance-CNV₁

gaadd-í na??-ó ?anni máári ?ekk-í
 dance-CNV₁ child-ABS husband:ABS house:ABS take-CNV₁

dend-á-ne
 go-IPF-A:DCL
 'Having gathered many people to help him, together with (these) people, singing and dancing, they bring the girl to the house of the husband (the boy)'

?as-á ?anni máár-a lam?-ó work'-í
 person:PL-NOM husband:ABS house-LOC two-ABS spend the night-CNV₁

haits-ása kéll-ó-na kés?-í ?ááf-á-ne
 three-ORD day-ABS-INST go out-CNV₁ go-IPF-A:DCL
 'The people stay for two nights in the house of the husband and on the third day they go (back to their home)'

out and sit on the stone which marks their special friendship. This custom of 'going out' is called **súcci dé?-itsi** 'stone sitting' and it may last only for a few months, it may also take years. **gocc-** 'pull' is used to describe the visits the boy makes to the house of the girl in order to 'sit and talk' with her. Pre-marital sex is forbidden in this time of intimacy. This is a test period for both regarding their restraint and discipline.

¹¹ In Maale there are two verbs which are translated by the speakers as 'borrow': **tal?**- and **?erg-**. The former is used to refer to borrowing of money or other property; latter verb is used when one asks friends, neighbours or relatives to help on the farm, or when building a house, etc. Such help is considered as 'borrowing of time and energy' which has to be reciprocated later.

naʔʔ-éll-á bez-aa ʔanni máár-a ʔátt-á-ne
 child-F-NOM place-LOC husband:ABS house-LOC remain-IPF-A:DCL
 'The girl remains there, in the husband's house'

ʔas-á ʔekk-í yeʔ-é ʔas-á
 person:PL-NOM take-CNV₁ come-PF:REL person:PL-NOM

dend-á-ne
 goIPF-A:DACL
 'The people who brought her go (back)'

ye-ká-ppa ʔanni máár-a déʔ-í ʃoʔ-í
 that-LOC-ABL husband:ABS house-LOC sit-CNV₁ give birth-CNV₁

ʃoʔ-í wolla maʔ-í maʔ-í goʃʔ-í goʃʔ-í
 give birth-CNV₁ together work-CNV₁ work-CNV₁ farm-CNV₁ farm-CNV₁

lább-í lább-í nang-á-ne
 be tired-CNV₁ be tired-CNV₁ live-IPF-A:DCL
 'After that, she lives in the husband's house, raising children, working,
 farming and labouring together (with the husband)'

Q- goʃ-ád-é-tsi-ko gins'-á-ppa wóddí nang-a-y
 stomach-VBZ-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-LOC-ABL Q:VBZ live-IPF-Q
 'How is her life like after she becomes pregnant?'

ʔaigó múʔ-á-y ʔaigó ʔuʃk-á-y
 what:ABS eat-IPF-Q what:ABS drink-IPF-Q
 'What does she eat? What does she drink?'

A- ʔee ... goʃ-ád-é-tsi-ko gins'-á-ppa ʔus'-aa
 eh ... stomach-VBZ-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-LOC-ABL body-LOC

goʃ-aa ʔátt-é-tsi harg-é-to ʔééssi
 stomach-LOC remain-PF-NMZ:NOM pain-PF-CND honey:ABS

ʔuʃʔ-á-ne
 drink:CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'eh ... if she is sick after conception, she drinks honey'

ʔééssi ʔuʃk-á-nte báʃ-é-to ʒoyi máári
 honey:ABS drink-IPF-TEMP₃ surpass-PF-CND diviner:ABS house:ABS

dend-í ʒoyí-na goʃʃ-ó máh-int-á-ne
 go-CNV₁ diviner:ABS-INST stomach-ABS return-PAS-IPF-A:DCL
 'When the honey does not help, she goes to a diviner and she is massaged
 by the diviner'

máh-int-á-nte máh-int-á-nte baf-é-to
 return-PAS-IPF-TEMP₃ return-PAS-IPF-TEMP₃ surpass-PF-CND

waari tik'-i ?uff-á-ne
 goat:ABS cut-CNV₁ drink-IPF-A:DCL

'When repeated massage does not help, (the husband) slaughters a goat and makes her drink (the blood of the goat)

waari tik'-i ?uf-é-ts-idda-ppa ?ákári
 goat:ABS cut-CNV₁ drink:CAUS-PF-NMZ-LOC-ABL now

wáár-á d'eeff-é-to wói más'-á d'eeff-é-to
 goat-NOM cure-PF-CND DSJ bee-NOM cure-PF-CND

fo?-int-á-ne na??-á
 be born-PAS-IPF-A:DCL child-NOM

'After slaughtering the goat and made her drink (the blood), now, if the goat (with its blood) cures her or if the bee (with its honey) cures her, then, the baby will be born'

Q- ?anka fo?-á-y
 Q:LOC give birth-IPF-Q
 'Where does she deliver?'

Q- húmbó gar-ó-idda fo?-á-mó k'ám?-a
 main house:ABS inside-ABS-LOC give birth-IPF-RHT:Q outside-LOC

fo?-á-y
 give birth-IPF-Q
 'Is it inside the main house or is it outside?'

A- lí-ka daull-ó záll-ó maall-ó t-á-to
 down-LOC Daulle:PL-ABS side-ABS Maale:PL-ABS BE-IPF-CND

máár-a fo?-á-ne
 house-LOC give birth-IPF-A:DCL
 'If she belongs to the Maale of the lowlands, she delivers inside the house'

méлле ?aaró záll-ó-na ma?-é t-á-to
 another Aari:PL-ABS side-ABS-INST happen-PF:REL BE-IPF-CND

fo?-áza zúll-a ?ebb-áf-á-ne
 give birth-TEMP₁ out side-LOC something-VBZ-IPF-A:DCL
 'If she belongs to the Aari (clan), when she gives birth, they make something outside (i.e., they build a small hut)'

máár-éll-ó démm-a gel-i de?-é-mma-ppa maní
 house-F-ABS under-LOC enter-CNV₁ sit-PF-DIM-ABL potter:NOM

ʔá-á-ne ʔóti mazz-á-ya
 exist-IPF-A:DCL pot:ABS make-IPF-NMZ

'After she has lived in the small house .. (speaker interrupts).. there is mani,
 one who makes a pot'

ʔaginn-á háik'k'-i gintsa s'eer-áana man-á
 moon-NOM die-CNV₁ again become full-TEMP₂ potter:F-NOM

tookk-ó guull-á-ne
 head-ABS shave-IPF-A:DCL

'Soon after the month in which she gave birth is finished and when a new
 moon rises, the potter shaves the hair (of the new mother)'

tookk-ó guull-i ʔekk-i húmb-ó gel-z-á-ne
 head-ABS shave-CNV₁ take-CNV₁ interior-ABS enter-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'Having shaved her hair, (the potter) brings (the woman) into the main
 house'

ʔaare zála-na peesi gel-uwá-se
 Aari:ABS side:ABS-INST 3P:alone enter-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'The Aari (women) do not enter (the house) alone'

k'és's'é-ke
 forbidden-BE:DCL
 'It is forbidden'

man-á ʔekk-i máár-ó gelz-á-ne
 potterDF:F-NOM take-CNV₁ house-ABS enter-CAUS-IPF-A:DCL
 'The potter brings (the woman) inside the house'

Q- zúll-a ʃoʔ-áʔʔo work'-á wodd-ó-na
 out side-LOC give birth-CNV₂ spend night-IPF:REL time-ABS-INST

ʔanni muk-k-i ʔooc'c'-á naʔʔ-ó-wa zag-á
 husband:NOM come-CNV₁ ask-IPF:Q child-ABS-INCL₁ see-IPF:Q
 'After she has given birth outside, when (the woman) is staying there does
 the husband come to visit her? Does he see the baby?'

A- ʔanní maʔ-é-ya ʔanní-ko ʔáde-ya
 husband happen-PF:REL-NMZ husband-GEN father-INCL₁

zag-uwá-se
 see-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'No husband at all, and neither the father of the husband see (the woman and
 the baby)'

k'és's'e-ke
 forbidden-BE:DCL
 'It is forbidden'

?anní-na kaamm-uwá-se ?ád-ó-na
 husband:ABS-INST meet-IPF:NEG-N:DCL father-ABS-INST

kaamm-uwá-se
 meet-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'She does not meet with the husband. She does not meet with the father.'

peesi dé?-i pun-á-nte pun-á-nte ?agínn-á
 3p:alone sit-CNV₁ hide-IPF-TEMP₃ hide-IPF-TEMP₃ moon-NOM

s'eer-i haik'k'-é-tsi-na ?ákári ?anni-ko ?ád-ó-na
 be full-CNV₁ die-PF-NMZ-INST now husband-GEN father-ABS-INST

?as-ó-na kaamm-á-ne
 person:PL-ABS-INST meet-IPF-A:DCL

'She will stay alone and she will hide and hide (from the husband and his father) and then, when a new moon has risen and died, then she will meet with the father of her husband and with (other) people'

hángo muuzzi t-á-to ?ekk-i ye?-i
 otherwise food:ABS BE-IPF-CND take-CNV₁ come-CNV₁

karr-ó-na haβat-i ?ing-á-ne
 door-ABS-INST stretch-CNV₁ give-IPF-A:DCL

'Otherwise (i.e., before being brought into the main house), even food (they) bring it and through the door they stretch out their hands and give (it to her)'

kaamm-uwá-se ?así-na k'és's'e-ke
 meet-IPF:NEG-N:DCL person:ABS-INST forbidden-BE:DCL
 'She does not meet with a (male) person. It is forbidden'¹²

Q- **?aigó katsa ?izó-m kats-á-y**
 what:ABS food:ABS 3FS:ABS-DAT cook-IPF-Q
 'What kind of food is prepared for her?'

Q- **kats-ó ?izó-m kats-á-tsí ?óna d-á-y**
 food-ABS 3FS:ABS-DAT cook-IPF-NMZ who:ABS BE-IPF-Q
 'Who is it that cooks for her?'

¹² The verb **kaamm-** expresses both 'meet (eye contact)' or 'touch (physical contact)'.

¹³ The speaker later mentions that adult female relatives and neighbours may be present during the birth or visit the new mother and her baby after the birth.

- A- **káts-ó naʔi hánn-ó gudiya kats-í ʔekk-í**
 food-ABS child:NOM this:F-ABS like cook-CNV₁ take-CNV₁
mukk-í haʔat-í ʔing-á-ne
 come-CNV₁ stretch-CNV₁ give-IPF-A:DCL
 'The food, a young girl like this one [pointing] cooks and (she) gives it (to the woman) stretching out her hand (i.e., the girl does not enter the place the woman is staying and she does not make body contact with her)'
- naʔi bá-á-to máari ʔasí gúri melle**
 child:NOM exist not-IPF-CND house:ABS person:NOM empty another
ɖákka ɖákka naʔi ʔekk-í muk-í ʔing-á-ne
 small small child:NOM take-CNV₁ come-CNV₁ give-IPF-A:DCL
 'If the woman does not have a daughter any other young family member will bring (the food) to her'
- Q- **ʔaigó múuzzi múʔ-á-y**
 what:ABS food:ABS eat-IPF-Q
 'What does she eat?'
- A- **muuzzi kats-á ʔasí múʔ-á-ya**
 food:ABS cook-IPF:REL person:NOM eat-IPF:REL-NMZ
múmúʔ-á-ne dum-as-í ʔing-uwá-se
 eat:INTS-IPF-A:DCL different-NMZ:CAUS-CNV₁ give-IPF:NEG-N:DCL
 'She just eats what the person who cooks for her eats. (They) do not give a different food'
- Q- **ʃoʔ-é-tsi-ko gins'-á-ppa máráyí tík'-í**
 give birth-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-LOC-ABL sheep:ABS cut-CNV₁
waari tík'-í díik'i ʔuff-í yá gudiya
 goat:ABS cut-CNV₁ milk:ABS drink:CAUS-CNV₁ that like
k'ará múuzzi múʔ-á baazzi ʔá-á
 good food:ABS eat-IPF:REL thing:ABS exist-IPF:Q
 'After (a woman) has given birth, by slaughtering a sheep or a goat (for her) by giving her milk, isn't there (a custom) of feeding (the new mother) good food?'
- A- **tookí kess-í yá-idd-í**
 head:ABS take out-CNV₁ that-VBZ-CNV₁
ʔebb-áɖ-uwá-se
 some thing-VBZ-IPF:NEG-N:DCL

'Giving (the woman) so much importance like that, (they) do not do something like that'

kúc'-a ʔeebi ʔáá ʔasi muuzz-á-ne
hand-LOC some thing exist-IPF:REL person:NOM feed-IPF-A:DCL
'A person who has something (i.e., money) in his hand, feeds (her like that)

Q- ʔizá ʃoʔ-é-tsi-ko gins'-appa wááʔʔe gudiya
3FS:NOM give birth-PF-GEN behind-LOC-ABL how many like

wórk'-é-tsi-ko gins'-appa d-á-y máár-ó
spend the night-PF-NMZ-GEN behind-LOC-ABL BE-IPF-Q house-ABS

mááʔʔ-ó ʔark'-á-tsi
work-ABS hold-IPF-NMZ

'After the birth, how long does she rest before starting work in the house?'

A- ʔaginn-á ʃoʔ-é-z-á háik'k'-áza maʔ-á-ne
moon-NOM give birth-PF:REL-DF-NOM die-TEMP₁ work-IPF-A:DCL
'She works when the month in which she gave birth is finished'

ʔaginni hargé-na ʔoop-i hargé-na
moon:NOM disease:ABS-INST be thin-CNV₁ disease:ABS-INST

ʔá-á ʔasi t-á-to ʔaginni kumm-á-ne
exist-IPF:REL person:ABS BE-IPF-CND moon:NOM be full-IPF-A:DCL
'A month, if she lost weight badly due to sickness, if she is sick, then she rests a month'

hargé bá t'eninéte-na hant-á goits-a
disease:NOM exist not health:ABS-INST walk-IPF:REL road-LOC

ʔá-áʔʔo ʃoʔ-é-to kumm-uwá-se ʔaginni
exist-CNV₂ give birth-PF-CND be full-IPF:NEG-N:DCL moon:NOM
'Without sickness, if she delivers while healthy, then (her rest time) does not last a month'

Q- wói ʔatink'e nayi ʃoʔ-é-to wói wudúro nayi
DSJ male child:ABS bear-PF-CND DSJ female child:ABS

ʃoʔ-é-to dum-áʔ-i woot-ó goitsi ʔá-á
bear-PF-CND different-VBZ-CNV₁ do-NRRC road:ABS exist-IPF:Q
'Is the birth of a boy more significant than that of a girl, and is there something done to differentiate between these two?'

A- pétte-ke woot-ó baazzi bá-se
one-BE:DCL do-NRRC thing:ABS exist_not-N:DCL
'It is the same. There is nothing done.'

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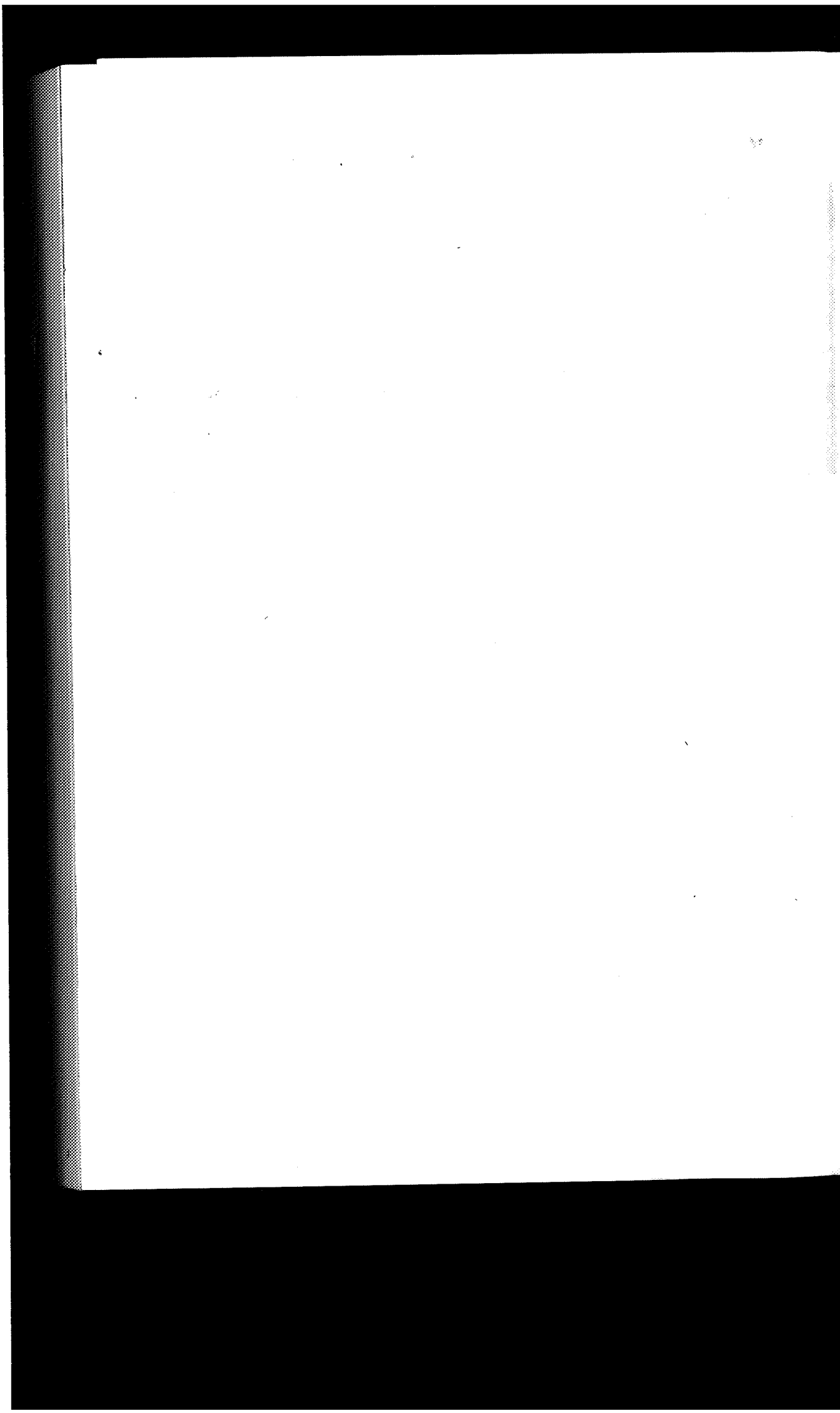
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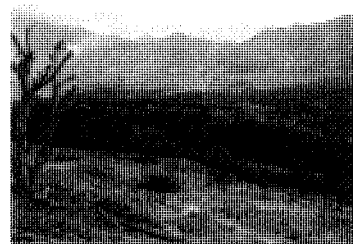
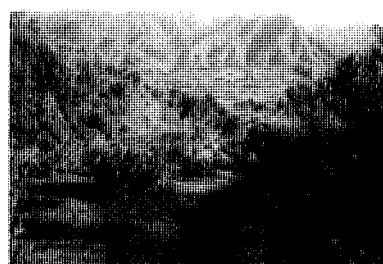
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This book is a pioneering study of Maale, a so far undescribed Omotic language spoken in southern Ethiopia. The study presents an analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. Focus, ideophones, interjections and greeting and leave-taking expressions are also examined.

The author describes a number of interesting morpho-syntactic phenomena including the expression of modality, clause-chaining and switch-reference. One of the theoretical problems raised concerns the marking of case on dependent verbs in Maale which is at variance with the accepted way of categorising inflectional affixes into verbal and nominal classes. New empirical material is also provided in the area of sentence-type marking. Maale uses morphological means to distinguish the declarative, which is generally regarded as an unmarked sentence-type. The declarative in this language further distinguishes simple assertions from assertions involving the speakers' state of knowledge (the mirative), his/her commitment to the utterance (the veridical), his/her evaluation of the state of knowledge of the hearer (the informative), and the potential. In addition to this, assertions about states, e.g. quality or identity of a referent, are distinct from assertions about events.

The analytical and theoretical problems addressed in different sections of the book make it interesting to specialists in Omotic studies as well as to those concerned with linguistics in general.

ISBN: 90-5789-056-9